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KURRACHEE:

(KARACHI)

PAST: PRESENT: AND FUTURE.

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BY

ALEXANDER F. BAILLIE, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.,

Author of "A PARAGUAYAN TREASURE," etc.

B. 2156

Rare book

With Maps, Plans, and Photographs.

AA a 49

PUBLISHED BY

THACKER, SPINK & Co., CALCUTTA;

THACKER & Co., LIMITED, BOMBAY;

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & Co., LIMITED, LONDON.

1890.

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PRINTED BY
CHAS. STRAKER AND SONS, BISHOPSGATE AVENUE, LONDON, E.C.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE GRANT-DUFF, P.C.,

G.C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,

FORMERLY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, AND

GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF MADRAS, ETC., ETC.,

THIS ACCOUNT OF

KURRACHEE: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE main objects that I have had in view in publishing a Treatise on Kurrachee are, in the first place, to submit to the Public a succinct collection of facts relating to that City and Port which, at a future period, it might be difficult to retrieve from the records of the Past; and secondly, to advocate the construction of a Railway system connecting the *Gate of Central Asia* and the Valley of the Indus, with the Native Capital of India.

I have elsewhere mentioned the authorities to whom I am indebted, and have gratefully acknowledged the valuable assistance that, from numerous sources, has been afforded to me in the compilation of this Work; but an apology is due to my Readers for the comments and discursions that have been interpolated, and which I find, on revisal, occupy a considerable number of the following pages. I am inspired with the hope that this extraneous matter may serve to relieve the otherwise uniform gravity and monotony of my subject.

ALEXANDER F. BAILLIE.

LONDON, *May*, 1890.

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THE Author desires to acknowledge, with thanks, the aid and assistance that he has received from a number of Published Works, Public Institutions, and Personal Friends, of which and of whom the following is, he fears, an incomplete List:—

Andrew, W. P.: "The Indus and its Provinces."
Asiatic Society of Bengal: Journals of the.
Asiatic Quarterly Review: "Karachi and its Future," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., C.B.; "The Great Indian Desert," by Horace Bell.
Baillie, A. W. Mowbray, B.A., Barrister-at-law: Arabic Derivations.
Baillie, Neil B. E.: "Digest of Moohummudan Law"—"Is the Sultan of the Turks the Caliph of the Mussulmans?"
Barnes, C. (Lt. R.N.R.), Commander of the "Branksome Hall."
Barros, Joao de; "Asia Portugueza."
Batten, George H. M.—Personal Communications.
Bell, Horace: "The Great Indian Desert."
Black, C. I. (Rev.): "The Proselytes of Ishmael."
Bombay Government: Selections from the Records of the.
Bombay Presidency: Reports of the Administration of the.
Brunton, J. Forrest, A.M.Inst.C.E.: Memoranda.
Brunton, John, M.Inst.C.E.: Reports on Scinde Railway Extension,
Burton, Sir Richard F., K.C.M.G.: "Scinde Revisited."
Couto, Diogo do: The "Decadas."
Daily News: The.
Deschanel's Natural Philosophy, by J. D. Everett, M.A.
Dilke, Sir Charles: "The Biluch and Afghan Frontier of India."
Eastwick, Edward B.: "Murray's Handbook of the Bombay Presidency."
Fitz Patrick, Frank: 80th (South Staffordshire) Regiment.
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Hamilton, Captain Alexander: "A New Account of the East Indies" (1744).
Hughes, A. W.: "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind."
Hunter, Sir W. W., K.C.S.I.: "The Imperial Gazetteer," and other Works.
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Keene, H.G., C.I.E., M.R.A.S.: "A Sketch of the History of Hindustan."
Kurrachee Chamber of Commerce: Reports of the Managing Committee of the.
Kurrachee Harbour Works: Correspondence selected from the Records of the Bombay Government.
Lambert, G. N. P., M.Inst.C.E.: Personal Communication,
Leslie, Sir Bradford, K.C.I.E.: Memorandum on the Delhi-Kotri Railway, Personal Communications and Annotations.
Malcolm, Sir John, G.C.B.: "The Political History of India."
Manchester Chamber of Commerce: Monthly Record of the.

Manchester Guardian : The.
McGregor, W. L. (Dr.) : "The History of the Sikhs."
McHinch, Alexander (Lieut.-Col.) : Speeches and Letters.
Napier, Sir William : "Narrative of the Administration of Scinde."
Neill, J. Martin B. (Captain) : "Recollections of Four Years' Service in the East with the 40th Regiment."
Notes and Queries.
Orlich, Leopold von (Captain) : "Travels in India."
Pascoe, Lieut. T.C. (R.N.) : Hydrographic Notice—Sind.
Pioneer : The.
Pollen, J. Dr. (Bo. C.S.) : Paper read to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and Private Memoranda.
Porter, John (Lieutenant H.C. Marine) : "Remarks on the Bloachee, Brodia, and Arabian Coasts, 1787."
Pottinger, Sir Henry : "Travels in Bloochistan."
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Sind Gazette : The
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Times of India : Calendars and Directories of the.
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Tyrrell, the Honourable Wm., B.A., Judge of the High Court, N.W.P.
Vincent, Dr. William : "The Voyage of Nearchus."
Wilkins, W. J. : "Hindu Mythology,"
Winter, Charles A. : Personal Communications.
Yule-Burnell : "Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words."
Yule, Colonel Sir Henry, K.C.S.I. (the late) : Personal Communications.

ERRATA.

Page 18, Line 21 : For *side* read *site*.
„ 40, „ 3 : For first *exports* read *imports*.
„ 194, „ 14 : For *Alford* read *Alfred*.
„ 223, „ 32 : For *James* read *John*.

NOTE.—Since my remarks on the Kurrachee Tramways were in print, the Company has been compensated by the Secretary of State for India in Council for any injuries sustained through the extension of the North Western (State) Railway.

This fact deserves to be recorded, but I do not think that it will be found to militate against the general argument submitted in the Eighth Chapter of this Work.

A. F. B.

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KURRACHEE

(KARÁCHÍ).

CHAPTER I.

A RETROSPECT.

Now and again the name of Kurrachee is brought prominently to notice. Questions arise with our restless neighbours in Afghānistān, as happened in 1838 and 1878, and thereupon attention is called to its Port as being the most suitable for the disembarkation of troops, and for the collection of warlike stores :—or we suddenly have an attack of Russian fever, and immediately thousands of tons of rails are shipped off to extend, and complete the railway system, to the frontier; or it may be, as occurred a few years ago, that the members of the London Stock Exchange and their speculative clients, are interested in a town which, they were informed, was destined to become the great emporium for supplying the whole world with "Date Coffee": and again, as was the case only recently, a Viceroy, or a Royal Duke, pays a flying visit to the western extremity of the Indian Empire, and their respective sayings and doings are fully chronicled, and transmitted home by cable.

At such times there is as much talk and writing about Kurrachee, as though it had been just discovered or newly acquired, but so soon as the Afghāns have returned to their normal condition of internal dissensions, and have ceased to trouble their neighbours; so soon as the demand for rails has been satisfied, or shipments have been stopped in consequence of a change at the India Office, and the appointment of a new Secretary of State, whose policy differs from that of his predecessor; or when the "Date Coffee Company, Limited," after a short existence, has been wound up by order of *the Court*:—and the Viceroy has returned to the seat of Government, and the Duke to his head-quarters; so soon, in fact,

as the incident that called it into momentary notoriety has passed then Kurrachee sinks again into oblivion, and its very name is forgotten.

Beyond the limits of Official, and of comparatively small shipping and commercial circles, few people seem to know anything about the place, and the public generally appear to ignore its existence, and decline even to acknowledge those claims that undoubtedly it can sustain, viz.: that it is the nearest point of contact between India and the mother country (barring Aden, which is supposed to be in Bombay)—that it is the third in importance of all the sea-ports of British India; that it is the natural outlet of trade for Sind and the Punjāb; and that on the western coast it is second only to Bombay, to which great city it has, in the course of a few years, presented itself as a rival, not perhaps to be feared, but certainly not to be despised.

Fifty years ago it formed part of a foreign and unfriendly country. When occupied by our troops in 1839, it was considered of very slight importance, and in the conquest of Sind, which took place four years afterwards, Kurrachee played no part, and is very seldom mentioned in the dispatches of the period.

At that time the population was variably estimated at between 8,000 and 14,000 inhabitants; in thirty years it had increased to 50,000, and in the succeeding fifteen years to 86,000. In 1843 the total value of imports and exports amounted to Rs. 1,200,000; two years later it had increased to Rs. 3,500,000; in 1865 the total was Rs. 46,500,000, and in 1885, it exceeded Rs. 90,000,000. Such a rapid increase in population and trade is not uncommon in the United States, and other parts of the American continent, or even in Australia, but it would be remarkable in Europe, and is unparalleled in India.

Some account therefore of the past, the present, and the future of Kurrachee; of its infancy, its growth, and its prospects; may well deserve the attention of all those who are interested in the development of our great Indian Empire; and on the assumption that information regarding it, is to some extent deficient, it will be desirable to fix its latitude and longitude, and generally to define its position; but, before turning to the map, it would be well to decide upon the name of the place, for which we have to seek.

In modern atlases, except in the very latest, it will be found under the form employed as the title of this work; but it may be at once confessed that, in using the word *Kurrachee*, we are widely diverging from

the improved Jonesian system of transliteration, prescribed by the Government of India.

Crochey, Krotchey Bay, Caranjee, Koratchey, Currachee, Kurrachee, and *Karáchí,* are only a few of its many appellations and ways of spelling, the last being the official one, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* but it does not appear to have been, by any means generally adopted up to the present time.

The penultimate of the above names, *Kurrachee,* is most frequently found in domestic, mercantile, and even in official correspondence, but in its use there are many anomalies.

For instance: there is a Chamber of Commerce of *Kurrachee,* the annual reports of which are stated on the title-page to have been printed at *Karáchí;* the Superintendent of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Railway addresses a communication to the President of that Chamber at *Karáchí,* but dates his letter from *Kurrachee;* and the Government of India, in a Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjāb, adopts the reformed spelling in writing of the district, but calls the Port of Sind *Kurrachee.*

In railway-guides, in shipping-lists, in mercantile and domestic correspondence, in telegraph messages, and even by the Director-General of the Post-Office of India, the name is written *Kurrachee,* and it seems a somewhat high-handed proceeding summarily to change the name of the third great port of India, and to leave those of its seniors, and for the present more important ones, unaltered.

If we are to express in English alphabetic characters the names of Indian cities, as they are used by the natives, then, in all strictness, we should write *Kalikata* and *Mumbaí,* instead of Calcutta and Bombay; but the retention of the modern form of spelling in these cases may well be pardoned, seeing that the former is a transliteration (with the omission of a letter) of the indigenous name, and that the latter came to us through the medium of the Portuguese language. But *Karáchí* is not the expression of the Indian word in our language:—*í,* in English, is not *ee* but *eye,* and this was not the termination of the word as heard by Porter, Burnes, or Carless, all of whom give a different formation of the name of the place, but invariably ending in *ee* or *ey.* The spelling as dictated by Government is questionable, and it is frequently found that persons who are by no means uneducated, but who have no personal acquaintance with the locality, speak of the place as *Kurrach*-EYE, and even hesitate about giving it any name at all.

The equivalent of the native word should undoubtedly be easily adaptable to the English tongue, for there can be no question that *Kurrachee* must, before long, become as much an "household word" as Calcutta or Bombay. When the next great call to arms is heard from India; when the Household troops, the Highlanders, the Rifles, and every "crack" regiment in the service, get their marching orders for the Far East, their destination will be Kurrachee, the nearest seaport to the mountainous country in which will have to be decided the question of the ownership of India; and surely the wives, the mothers, the sisters, and even the little children of the brave men who hurry to the front, should learn to pronounce correctly the name of the place at which their husbands, their sons, their brothers, and their fathers must of necessity land before marching to meet the foe, and from which, with God's will, they will return crowned with laurels.

In deference to the almost universal concurrence in the form of the spelling, and for the reasons above stated, *Kurrachee* has been adopted as the title of the present work; and *pace* the great Oriental scholar Sir William Jones, the distinguished editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and the Indian Government itself, it will be employed throughout it.

Having decided how to write the name of the place, let us now define its position.

Rás Muári, or Cape Monze, is the first point sighted by a traveller approaching the coast of India by the Red Sea route. It is a sharply-projecting headland, situated in lat. 24° 51′ N.; long. 66° 37′ E. at the mouth of the Habb River. The Habb forms the division between Sind and Kelät, that is to say, it is the Western boundary of the Indian Empire. From Monze to Manora Point, which is at the entrance of Kurrachee Harbour, the distance is only 20 miles, so that the town is not far removed from the frontier, and is in fact the furthest west in British India Proper. Manora Point Light is in lat. 24°, 47′, 37″, N.; long. 66°, 58′, 6″, E.; and from this Light the Merewether Pier on the island of Kiamāri is 22 cables, or say three miles, and the Custom House in Kurrachee itself is two miles further. The light is fixed, and visible at 20 nautical miles.

The distance from Southampton to Kurrachee is 5,918 sea miles, while from the same port to Bombay the distance is 6,119 miles, consequently it has the advantage of being 201 miles nearer to the mother-country than the latter port, from which it is distant by sea, 808 miles. It is the sea-board terminus of the great State Railway System of the North-

The Empress Market.

west which extends as far as Gulistān on the west, to Peshawur in the far North, and round to Delhi on the east.

It is stated to have been the first harbour in the Indian Ocean in which an European Navy ever rode, and from Kurrachee was received the first telegraphic message transmitted from India to England.

Almost every dynasty (and there were many of them) that has ruled over Sind, appears to have made a new capital, from which its government was carried on:—Aror, Tatta, Sehwan, Nerankot, and several others have at different periods been the chief cities of princes, who have ruled over the country. Some of them have fallen into decay, never to rise again; one or two still exist, while others have disappeared, but on the sites that they formerly occupied, new towns have arisen. This is the case with Hydrabād (Haidarābād), which is supposed to have been built on the ground where Nerankot formerly stood, and was the capital of the last dynasty, that of the Tālpurs, until the annexation of the whole country in 1843.

It is obvious that the princes of Sind had no ocean-shipping interests: that they attached but little value to imports and exports, except in so far as they might tend to increase their revenues, and add to their personal comforts, and consequently they lent very slight encouragement to the opening up of seaports, and gave no assistance towards their advancement, but rather opposed their creation and development.

But when the disturbed condition of the country demanded the intervention of the British Government, the desirability of having a seaport was at once recognised by the Government of India, at that time the Honourable East India Company, and the advantages offered by the harbour of Kurrachee were fully appreciated. In a short time the foreign trade that sprung up attracted native traders from the interior, and European merchants from Bombay. Money was granted for harbour improvements, barracks were built, roads were made, and banks and other institutions were established.

It did not grow bit by bit, but it leaped with a few bounds from a miserable native fortress into a civil town of considerable size, with its adjoining military cantonments. It had the fostering hand of Sir Charles Napier, the Conqueror and first Governor of Sind, and during the period of his administration it made great strides. Since his time much has been done to extend the area, improve the sanitary condition of the town, and afford greater accommodation for shipping in the

harbour, but the construction of the Mole, bearing his name, and connecting Kurrachee with Kiamárí, was the first step towards the development of the place, for by this road the town was brought into immediate contact with the shipping, and facilities were given for trade that had never previously existed.

Before long Kurrachee was fixed upon as the residence of the "Commissioner in Sind," the Administrator of the whole province, who brought with him his assistants, and the numerous officials connected with the Revenue, Judicial, Public Works, and other departments. Hydrabād was quickly eclipsed. From the time that Kurrachee came to the fore, the population of the ancient capital commenced to decrease; attracted by the increasing trade of the port, the more favourable climate, and its position as the seat of local government, many inhabitants came down and fixed their residence in the new and rising town. Hydrabād had to abdicate, and Kurrachee shortly became the capital and chief city, of the Province of Sind.

During a visit of the late Viceroy, a number of the inhabitants submitted to His Excellency the very modest request, that Kurrachee should be exalted to the position of Capital, of the whole of the Indian Empire. Should this be done, it would at once settle a question that for a long time has vexed the minds of Sir George Campbell, M.P.—of members of the East Indian Association—and of many others who dispute the suitability of Calcutta and Simla, and who search for a central position, such for instance as Saugur in the Nerbudda, on which to create a new capital, but it was decidedly unfavourable to the chances of Kurrachee holding the great pre-eminence, to which a portion of its inhabitants aspired, that at the very time they proffered their request, it was also submitted to the Viceroy, that the port had no lateral communication with the rest of India, and that so far from being central, it was nearly isolated.

Our occupation of Kurrachee resulted from the military operations in connection with the Afghān War of 1838. Sind, though nominally independent, was subordinate to Cabul, to which kingdom it had been presented in 1756 by the Moghul Court, and when during Lord Auckland's Administration it was resolved to oppose Dost Muhammed, the Talpúrs, who were then in power, showed themselves so extremely inimical to us, and so incapable of maintaining an orderly government, that Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane, the Commander-in-Chief in the Bombay Presidency, received instructions to send a force into the

country. His first step was to seize upon Kurrachee. The expedition formed for the purpose consisted of H.M.S. Wellesley 74, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, the transport Hannah, and one of the H.E.I.Co.'s steamers, together with a number of country boats; and at the Hujamro, the principal mouth of the Indus, 51 miles east of Kurrachee, it was joined by H.M.S. Algerine, and another of the Honourable Company's vessels, the Constance. The troops on board were H.M. 40th regiment (2nd Somerset), the 2nd Bombay N.I. Grenadiers, and a company of European Artillery.

The expedition anchored off Manora on the 1st February, 1839, and on the 3rd, the little fort on that point surrendered without firing a shot.

An officer who was present, the Acting Adjutant of the 40th,* has given us his first impressions of the town and people of Kurrachee, as he saw them at this time. "The town," he says, "is excessively dirty, and the inhabitants generally are a most squalid looking set of wretches. The great majority are Hindoos. The houses are generally mud-built and flat-roofed; on the top of them are wicker ventilators facing the sea, which perform the double duty of windsail and skylight. The suburbs are extensive and in their vicinity are several tanpits, the stench from which is most disgusting and overpowering."

Unquestionably there was a little "sharp practice" in the occupation of Kurrachee under the circumstances recounted. At this very time Colonel Pottinger had presented the draft of a treaty to the Amīrs at Hydrabād, by which they were to bind themselves to receive a subsidiary force, and to provide store-room at Kurrachee for military supplies. The treaty is dated the 5th of February, 1839, but Manora, which commands the town of Kurrachee, had then already been for two days in the possession of British troops. So it has ever since remained, although some years elapsed before its annexation was officially decreed.

In 1842 Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the territories on the Lower Indus. Sind was then, nominally at least, as already mentioned, an independent kingdom, and negotiations for a treaty, as between two friendly Powers, were entered into. Under this treaty Kurrachee, with four other towns on the banks of the Indus, were to have been ceded in perpetuity to the British, but before it was

* "Recollections of four years' service in the East with the 40th Regiment," by Captain J. Martin B. Neill.

signed, military operations had already commenced. The General had adopted the cause of the Amīr Alī Murād in opposition to that of his brother, the Amīr Rustam, in the disputes that had arisen between them for the supreme command in Upper Sind, and the latter dreading an attack on his life or liberty, escaped with his family to a place called Imāmghar, in the Thūr or Great Sandy desert, where was situated a fortress, supposed to be impregnable, and at least capable of offering stout resistance, to any force unaccompanied by artillery. Thither he was quickly followed by Sir Charles with a division consisting of 50 Cavalry, 350 Europeans mounted on camels, and two 24lb. howitzirs, and after a trying march over a succession of sandhills, the fort was reached, and at once surrendered. It was reduced to a mass of ruins and the troops returned, without having sustained any loss, to head-quarters. The late Duke of Wellington characterized this, the first exploit of Sir Charles Napier in Sind, as one of the most curious and extraordinary of all military feats.

The treaty was ultimately signed in February, 1843, but its stipulations were subverted by the events that immediately followed, and that shortly led to the conquest of the entire kingdom.

On the 15th February the Residency at Hydrabād was attacked by some 8,000 of the Amīrs' troops, and notwithstanding the gallant defence of Major Outram* and his escort, had to be evacuated after a few hours' severe fighting. Outram immediately joined head-quarters at Hālā, and Sir Charles at once led his force of 2,800 men with eight pieces of artillery against the army of the Amīrs, concentrated at Meeanee, to the number of 22,000 men.

The battle of Meeanee was fought on the 17th February, 1843, with a loss to the enemy computed at 5,000, and on the side of the British at about 250.

On the 24th of the following month there was another sanguinary action at Nārējā in the district of Dabo (from which the battle takes its name), where the enemies' forces, of nearly the same strength as at Meeanee, were again defeated with great loss, and then the Sind campaign may be said to have ended.

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* *In all the true Knight,*
The Bayard of the East,
are words inscribed on the foot of the statue erected in Calcutta to the memory of this "faithful servant of England" who, after "later glories," became Sir James Outram, Lieutenant-General, G.C.B., and a Baronet, and who died the 11th March, 1863

Outram's gallant defence of the Hydrabād Residency—the battles of Meeanee and Dabo—are all entitled to be classified as great military achievements, and our successes in the open field at the two latter places have been called, and not without reason, *victories*, and in fact Sir Charles Napier, in his official report, makes use of that word with reference to Meeanee.

A victory, according to the dictionary, is the defeat of an enemy in battle, but in English it means something more than that—it is the defeat of an enemy in battle *under exceptional circumstances.*

These circumstances were not wanting at Meeanee and Dabo, but both of the opposing parties possessed certain advantages. The odds against the British force, in point of numbers, were enormous, and those numbers displayed a pluck and courage, which were not surpassed by the small and compact force, that they met on the battle field, and that "advanced as at a review across a fine plain swept by the cannon of the enemy," but their discipline was loose, and their arms inferior. For about three hours or more the combatants at Meeanee fought with great fury, man to man, "but then was seen the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield, and matchlock. The brave Balochis, first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the bank (of the river Fuleli) with desperate resolution; but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet."

Such is the testimony that the English General gave to the courage of the enemy, and it may be mentioned that the superiority of the musket over the matchlock was peculiarly marked on this occasion, for Meeanee was the first action of any importance in which percussion-caps were used, in place of the old flint-lock.

In the above extract from Sir Charles Napier's report it will be noticed that he speaks of the "brave Balochis." It would naturally be supposed that in conquering Sind, the enemy to be met and defeated would be the natives of the country, Sindians or Sindees. But this was not the case—the Sindee is not a man of war—he is by nature quiet and inoffensive, and has been described as notoriously cowardly and dishonourable,* while the Balochi, from the other side of the Hālā, or Khirthar range of mountains, is a far superior being, possessing considerable courage, though naturally vindictive and cruel. Many of these people had settled in Sind towards the end of the eighteenth

* Sir Richard Burton.

century, and, in fact, held in subjection the native population; and the Amīrs' armies that we encountered, were chiefly composed of Balochis, and of Pathāns, who were found in considerable numbers in the neighbourhood of Hydrabād.

As a matter of fact the few Sindees, who voluntarily took any part in the campaign, were in our service. Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger, while holding the position of Resident, had done much to bring about a good understanding between his own countrymen, and the nation to whom he was accredited, and at his suggestion a regiment of cavalry called the "Scinde Irregular Horse" was raised. The nucleus was a squadron of Poona auxiliary horse, that was marched up from Kachh (Cutch), and the ranks were speedily filled with Sindees.* At Meeanee the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the "Scinde Horse" forced the right of the enemy's line, and in the opinion of the General decided the crisis of the action; and at Dabo, the latter regiment, with the 3rd Cavalry, made several brilliant charges upon the enemy's left flank, crossing the *nullah* and following them up for several miles.

The war, the justice of which has been often questioned, was waged against the Amīrs and the troops under their command; but these troops were hired mercenaries, dominating over and oppressing the indigenous race; and so it happens that although Sind was conquered, it is not a consequence that there should exist any strong feeling of hatred or rancour on the part of the native inhabitants, who rather benefited by the defeat of their chieftains' armies.

As for the Balochis, though badly beaten, their honour was not lost, for, as already stated, they fought with the greatest courage, and suffered enormous losses, and although defeated their country still remained independent.

Let Her Majesty's gallant "Twenty-second, who marched up within forty paces of an entrenchment and then stormed it like British soldiers,"—let the brave native regiments who formed part of the same brigade, and the cavalry corps who supported it, wear emblazoned on their colours the name of "Meeanee," a battle that turned the future of a nation; but that celebrated action is now a memory of the past, and with it is dying away the ill-feeling that must always arise between the conquerors and the conquered. The name of the Twenty-second is also a memory of the past, but with diligent search the non-military

* Record book of the Scinde Irregular Horse, 1853.

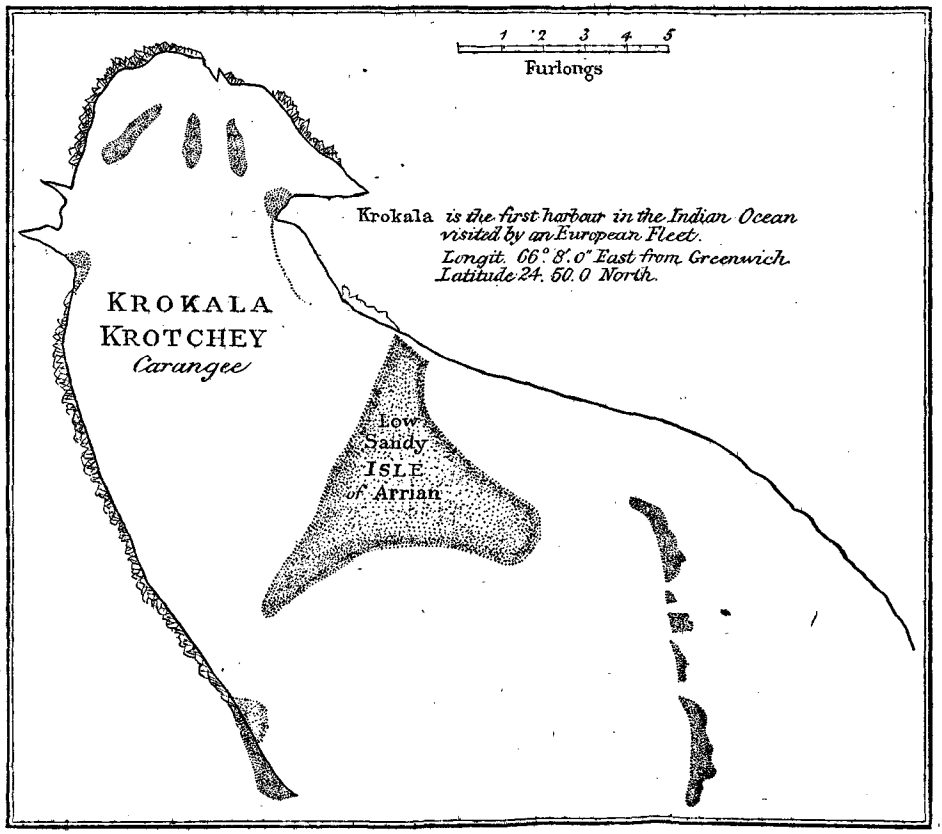
reader may discover that the corps which, with a troop of horse artillery "decided the battle of Dabo," has become, since the Cardwell organisation scheme was carried into effect, a battalion of the Cheshire Regiment. To the memory of its gallant officers and men who fell in the Sind Campaign, a monument was erected by Sir Charles Napier in 1849, in part of the grounds of Government House at Kurrachee, and in Trinity Church a window was put up in one of the aisles, in his honour and in that of the victors of Meeanee.

Our annexation of Sind had some peculiar results, in regard to the domestic life of the inhabitants. Suicide among women, was most prevalent, and their bodies were constantly being found in a state of suspension. The Governor gave this matter his most serious consideration, and soon discovered that the unfortunate creatures had been hanged by their husbands on the very slightest pretexts. It was a case that called for one of Napier's clear and stringent proclamations, and he drew one, in his own rough and unadorned language. "You are solemnly warned," he said to his new subjects, "that in whatever village a woman is found murdered, a heavy fine shall be imposed on all, and rigidly levied. The Government will order all her husband's relations up to Kurrachee, and it will cause such danger and trouble to all, that you shall tremble if a woman is said to have committed suicide in your district, for it shall be an evil day for all in that place." Curt and to the point—the warning was not unworthy of the man who is said to have dispatched the laconic message "*Peccavi* 'I have Sind' (sinned)."

CHAPTER II.

A RETROSPECT (continued).

KURRACHEE can hardly be said to possess a history, but Dr. William Vincent, Dean of Westminster, writes to this effect in *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*:—"I present to the reader a plan of this bay, and I feel great satisfaction in exhibiting the first harbour in the Indian Ocean in which a European navy ever rode." The plan, entitled "Krokala, Krotchey, Carangee, Low Sandy Isle of Arrian,"



of which a *facsimile* is given, was made by Mr. Mascall, a volunteer, in the expedition fitted out in Bombay in 1774, to explore the coast between the Indus and the Persian Gulf, which consisted of the "Fox," Lieutenant Robinson, called the Commodore, the "Dolphin," commanded by Lieutenant Porter, and a Palamur (*Pattamar*) boat. The "first European Navy" referred to is that of Alexander III., King of Macedonia, commonly called "the Great," which was ordered to proceed, under the command of Admiral Nearchus, from the Delta of the Indus, to that of the Euphrates. This voyage commenced in 326 B.C., and Doctor Vincent, in order to be absolutely correct as to dates, and founding his statement on the itinerary of Arrian in the "Indica," tells us that Nearchus reached Krokala on the 8th of October of that year, and left on the following day, having only remained there for twenty-four hours. Of course the identity of Krokala with the modern Kurrachee, or rather with its port of Kiamārī, has been discussed and controverted, but it does not appear to have been confuted. Some writers have confounded it with Port Alexander; others say that a district of Sind in ancient days was called Krokala, and that hence the name has been fancifully attached to a harbour on the coast, and they add that the whole sea frontage has undergone so many changes since the voyage of Nearchus, that it is now impossible to fix the situation of the port into which he entered.

It is, however, very certain that Kurrachee does not in any way correspond to the Port on this coast, named after the great Conqueror. We know that this latter harbour was situated to the west of the promontory of Eirus, or Cape Monze, as it is now called, and that it was protected from the Ocean by the island of Bibacta; the modern Chilnay Isle, between that Cape and Sonmeanee.

If the name of Krokala was applied to a large district, it may easily be imagined that it would attach itself to the principal creek, or harbour, so soon as the demand for a seaport arose, and that it would be generally used by strangers approaching it from the exterior; and as to the statement that the whole coast line has changed in form and appearance, it may be at once granted that such is the case, as regards the Delta of the Indus; although it may be remarked that the very author* who on this ground opposes the identity of Krokala with Kurrachee states that the formation of the Indus in the neighbourhood of Tatta is

* Sir Richard Burton.

at the present time very much the same as in 1699, when that town was visited by Captain Alexander Hamilton ; and moreover, the opinion is now accepted that Kurrachee was never situated on a branch of the Indus, although for a long time this was held to be the case, and consequently the locality of the harbour could not have been affected, to any very great extent, by the variations of the Delta.

The weak points of a coast-line undoubtedly change ; rivers make new outlets to the sea ; sand banks are formed in some places and disappear in others ; prominent land marks are displaced, and new features are displayed ; but the hard points—the bluffs—the spurs that Nature herself created, first to make a coast line, and then to protect it : - these do not crumble away so easily.

They were constructed by a master-hand. Just as the modern engineer designs his "épis" to preserve the shingle, and the sands at our watering places, and seaside resorts, so nature raised her defences against the encroachments of the waves, and her handiwork possesses this advantage, that it is much more durable than artificial reproductions.

Rās Muāri, or Cape Monze, is one such bluff or spur, and Rās Manora is another ; for even if the theory, propounded by one of the earliest surveyors* of the harbour, be accepted, that its present entrance was formerly barred by a low range of hills, of which nothing now remains except the rocky cape forming the western point of the mouth, and the group of steep and craggy islets in the bay to the eastward, yet this fact only proves that there were points of resistance in the range of hills, which defied for ages the combined assault of a number of water courses from the interior, and the rough attacks of the Arabian Sea, the billows of which sometimes culminate in waves of fifteen feet in height, from hollow to crest.

It is pretty clear that neither a sandbank nor a sand hill, can be formed without some point of resistance. In narrow channels and rivers, the sand is carried by the current, until it encounters some obstacle ; and on plains and deserts, it drifts before the winds, until it finds some object to which it can cling. In water a lost anchor, or a sunken canoe, will quickly establish a bank, which in a little time becomes a danger to navigation ; on land the carcase of a bullock, or of a camel ; or even a stick driven into the ground will serve to form the basis of a sand hill. In both cases the sand drifts against the obstacle,

* Commander T. G. Carless.

and the greater the primary superficies, the more quickly is the mound created.

The sunken canoe, or the lost anchor, is the foundation of a bank, on which in course of time a larger vessel is wrecked, and very quickly a dam is formed that troubles ship-masters, and puzzles pilots; the mound surrounding a stick or a skeleton, on sandy plains and deserts may not of itself be important, but when the stick is a telegraph post, and a hillock is raised around it, a good deal of annoyance is caused to the Department by which it was erected. Recently, in South America, a divergence in the course of a river laid open to view, one of those enormous boulders which appear to have dropped from the skies, and which had been the foundation of a prominent hill, until the flow of waters dissipated the sand that had accumulated around it, and removed its covering.

There is therefore no reason why Rās Manora should not have existed when Nearchus passed along the coast, equally as well as Rās Muāri, the stability of which has never been questioned. Manora was, and is, a hard point; a bluff, from which, according to Commander Carless, a narrow ridge of smooth rock, covered over with sand, ran to the group of rocky islets to the eastward.) Later surveys have shown that the *narrow ridge of smooth rock* is a bar chiefly of sand, but having patches of sandstone rock, boulders, shingle and clay.

The report of Commander, then Lieutenant, Carless on his survey of Kurrachee Harbour, was submitted to Government in 1838, and in it he states that "about eighty years ago the harbour was situated five or six miles further to the westward than its present position, at a spot now occupied by a large but shallow lagoon, separated from the sea by a bar of loose sand; and at that period was generally known by the name of Aurunga Bunder. By the Hindoo inhabitants it was called Rambag, and this appellation by which it is always distinguished in their oldest books and records, is to this day frequently used when speaking of it amongst themselves. The town is said to have been large and populous and was called Kurruck, from which the name of the present town is doubtless, derived." The entrance to the Harbour, according to this statement, was north-west of the Manora sand-spit, and its trade would have centred at Nāwā Nār (Nowanal), where Kurruck must have stood. According to the same informant, numerous watercourses, during heavy rains, carried down quantities of loose and sandy soil,

which gradually accumulated in front of them, and became at last so large as to turn the water from the direction of the old harbour, towards an opening in a low range of hills, on the sea-coast, where it quickly found an outlet. Consequently the entrance to the old harbour soon became blocked up, and the town of Kurruck was deserted for the site of the modern Kurrachee.

This is one theory, but there is besides a tradition that the entrance to the harbour, of which Carless writes, was closed by an earthquake, about the middle of the last century, which at the same time opened the present entrance between Manora, and the Oyster Rocks. The tradition is that a *Pír*, a *saint*, or holy man—but evidently, in this instance, a malicious one—who wished to injure the headman of the town that is supposed to have existed at Nowanal, caused the earthquake and destroyed his habitation.

Of an event that occurred within eight hundred miles of Bombay of the closure of a port with which there was constant communication of the consequent destruction of a town stated by some to have contained 50,000 inhabitants; of an earthquake which can hardly have been so absolutely local that its effects were not felt in neighbouring districts; it would naturally be supposed that some information would have reached the English Governor of the Island of Bombay, even in 1750; but so recently as 1864 the Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department had to address an inquiry to the Chief Engineer in Sind, as to whether he was aware of the generally received tradition that there had been an earthquake, about one hundred and twelve years previously. The "*about eighty years ago*" of Carless counting from 1838, and the "*about one hundred and twelve years ago*" of the Public Works Department from 1864, define very nearly the date when the eruption of waters formed the new mouth of the harbour, and when the earthquake took place; in fact, it brings the two occurrences so close together, that they might be supposed to be one and the same event.

The Chief Engineer (Colonel Tremenheere) collected evidence, but by no means satisfied himself that there had ever been an earthquake, or even a more westerly entrance to the harbour; but the then Governor of Bombay (the late Sir Bartle Frere) repudiates the colonel's geological reasons for discrediting *an universally received and very probable tradition*, and further states that "in looking for the remains of the old town he had found no difficulty in tracing out the site, [illegible]

old burial ground was visible a long way off."* It is possible, as exemplified in the case of Kurrachee, that a great centre of trade and population may arise in India in the course of a few years, and not unfrequently important cities in that Empire have completely disappeared in a very brief space of time; but still a certain period must elapse during the creation of a town, and generally, after its decline, some marks and signs of its existence would remain for a considerable number of years. At Brahmanābād a very ancient city, about forty-four miles north-east of Hyderabād, destroyed by an earthquake upwards of eight centuries ago, there can still be traced the walls four miles in circumference, and so late as 1854, the ruin of a high tower of brickwork, was a prominent object.†

Kurrachee had been founded upwards of a century when it became a British possession, and it did not then contain more than 14,000 inhabitants; its subsequent and sudden development was solely due to the infusion, into its languid trade, of the commercial spirit of the invaders; and it would therefore appear most probable that the town situated to the westward, whether it be called Aurunga Bunder, Rambag, or Kurruck, must have been in existence for many years before it attained to the importance that Carless and other writers have assigned to it, and that unless it was swallowed up by the earthquake, it is natural to suppose that something beyond the mere tracing of its site, and the position of a burial ground, would have been discovered. But in 1699, that is to say, about fifty years *before* the closure of the supposed western entrance, Captain Alexander Hamilton, as already mentioned, visited Tatta on a purely trading expedition, and resided there for some time. He was a man of intelligence and of an inquiring mind, as shewn by his writings, and yet he seems to have been completely ignorant of the fact, that at a distance of rather over fifty miles in a westerly direction there was a town of considerable size, and an important trading centre. In 1774, that is to say about twenty years *after* the supposed earthquake, Kurrachee was visited by the expedition to which reference has been made, of which the Dolphin, commanded by Lieutenant John Porter, of the Honourable Company's Marine, formed part.

The object of this expedition was to survey the coast, and Porter was

* Kurrachee Harbour Works. Correspondence from November, 1856, to June, 1866. Printed for Government of Bombay.

† A. F. Bellasis, Bombay C. S.

a man of considerable experience and scientific attainment. He went into the harbour "between the Promontory, on which the White Tomb stands, and the largest of the Islands," that is to say, between Manora Point and the southernmost island of the Oyster Group, the present entrance; and he also went up to "Crochey Town" and gives some interesting details regarding it, but the tradition of the earthquake, only twenty years after its occurrence, had then died out, or perhaps had not yet been fabricated; and although the expedition passed westwards along the coast, there is no mention of the former entrance to the harbour, nor of the ruins of a large and populous town in the neighbourhood of Nowanal. In 1758 an English factory was established at Tatta, and the agent opened up communications with Kurrachee, but he does not appear to have heard of the earthquake, nor of any important town further to the west.

There is only one other point in connection with this mythical convulsion of earth or of water, to which attention need be drawn. Commander Carless and the Public Works Department of Bombay, as already shewn, have fixed the date about the middle of the last century, and the statements of both would lead to the conclusion that the closure of the westerly entrance ruined one large town, but gave birth to Kurrachee. As a matter of fact a village on the present side of Kurrachee had already been for many years in existence, and there is absolutely no proof that at any time it could not have been approached by the Manora mouth. The evidence regarding the earthquake is not to be trusted, and that adduced to show the impracticability of the Manora mouth serves rather to prove the contrary. The late Seth Nao Mull, C.S.I., is mentioned by Sir Bartle Frere as a very well informed and most accurate authority, who assured him that he had often, as a boy, talked with people who remembered the old channel: this statement serves to show that there was another channel, but it does not prove the non-existence of one at Manora, and on this point the same informant says that his great-grandmother, who died about 1815, remembered when the beach at Manora was connected with that of Clifton by a line of rock or stone at *about 8 feet below low-water mark.* Surely with such a depth of water at low tide, there was no impediment to the entrance even of the largest sea-going boats, that then frequented the port.

It may be conceded that there was a Nowanal channel about 100 feet wide up which boats coming from Muscat were towed with ropes by men on either side; nay more, it may be allowed that the opening in

the banks exposed on that shore to the full power of the moonsoon seas, may have been protected to some extent by the large mangrove trees scattered all over the entrance; but is such a canal likely to have led to a centre of trade, to a great city?

It led to Nowanal, a little village from which goods were transported by land to the interior, on the site of which the Chief Engineer in Sind in 1865, was unable to find any trace of human habitation—of broken pottery, or even of fresh water,—but from which Sir Bartle Frere descried an old burial ground a long way off.

From that little village, when the canal that led to it, through want of care and of use, got blocked up, the inhabitants moved off to Kurrachee, where they found only a fishing village, but one more favourably situated than that which they had left. The large and populous town of Commander Carless, *on a spot now occupied by a shallow lagoon*, is as mythical as the earthquake which is supposed to have been the cause of its decay, but the merging of the western port into that of Kiamārī and the conjunction of the inhabitants of Nowanal with those of Kurrachee, gave the first impetus to the latter place: and it is highly probable that at some period, shortly after the closure of the western channel, the usually dry bed of the Lyaree River was abnormally flooded with heavy rains, and that its waters seeking an outlet with overwhelming impetus, widened the mouth of the Harbour to the east of Manora, and assisted in removing the obstacles that barred it.

From B.C. 326 to A.D. 1555 is a long period, but during all those years there is very little information to be obtained in relation to that part of Sind, in which Kurrachee is situated. In the latter year a fleet, of 28 vessels, with 700 men, under the command of Pero Barreto Rolim, was dispatched from Bassein by the Portuguese Governor of the Indies, to the assistance of a "King of Sindh," who had sent Ambassadors to supplicate for aid. The king was probably one of the Tarkhān dynasty which succeeded the Arghūn, but only remained in power for 37 years.

The fleet ascended the Indus to Tatta (Nagar Thato), and as a punishment for the treachery of its inhabitants, that town was pillaged, and a number of villages in the surrounding districts were destroyed, but no mention is made of Krokala or Kurrachee, and, in fact, its name or that of any place corresponding to it, does not appear in the "Decadas," of João de Barros, and of Diogo do Couto, which contain the history of Portuguese discoveries and exploits in the Indian Seas.

But that the place was well known at this time, not only as a Port, but almost as a Harbour of Refuge, is proved by the *Mohi't*, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas, which was discovered, and translated by the late Baron Joseph Von Hammer, and was published in the Journals of the Bengal Asiatic Society. It is called Turkish because it was written at Diarbekir, capital of a pashalik of Asiatic Turkey, in 1558, but the manuscript is in Arabic. Mohit means "circumference," and thence has come to signify the expanse within a circle, or the "Ocean"; and the work so entitled is in fact, a collection of sailing directions, compiled from ten Arabic works on the Geography and Navigation of India, by Sīdī Ali Capudān (Captain). In his instructions for the voyage from Diū, a small Portuguese island due south of Kāthiāwār, to Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, and to Muscat, he writes: "What is said of Indian whirlpools is all a tale, except the whirlpools in the gulph of Jaked, and in the Barbarian channel near Kardafūn, where ships falling in are unavoidably lost. If you guess that you may be drifting to Jaked you must take before your precautions, and endeavour to reach from the coast of Makrān, either the port of Kalmata, or Kawāder, or Kapchi Makrān; Bandar Kawander (one of the three Bundars on the coast of Gujerat) is the place where cocoanuts grow; or you must try to get to KAURASHI, or to enter Khūrdiūl Sind, that is to say the Port of Lahore, to get rid of the fear of Jaked. In Sind are a great number of liver-eaters, against whom you must be on your care; because if they meet a man who eats his dinner in public, they have the talent of eating up his liver with their eyes, and so kill him. This is not to be slighted."

In 1699-1700 Hamilton, as already stated, was at Tatta and wrote an interesting account of that city, in which the Jámá Masjid, founded by the Emperor, Shāh Jehān, in 1644, still stands as a memorial of his gratitude to the inhabitants who permitted him to enter one of the mosques in the town, when flying from his Father Jehangér, and of the skill and taste of the local artificers. It has been probably the most magnificent mosque in Sind, and covers an area of 6,316 square yards. Although fallen into decay, it is happily preserved from utter ruin by a subscription from the Imperial Government, and is constantly being patched up with little dabs of white mortar, which stand out prominently from the old walls. To Hamilton has been assigned by some writers the identification of Krokala with Kurrachee, but as already stated he does not even mention these places. At Nagar Thato (Tatta) was formed

an encampment, with a large store-deposit, immediately after the occupation of Kurrachee, but the climate is exceedingly unhealthy, and moreover the camp is said to have been placed over a burial ground; the consequence was that a terrible epidemic broke out amongst the troops stationed there, one regiment, the 26th Bombay Native Infantry, losing nearly 100 men.

Lieutenant John Porter, although at a distance of upwards of 1,000 years, may really be considered the first witness after Nearchus, or rather after the chroniclers of his voyage, who offers any evidence as to the capabilities of Kiamārī, as a port on the Indian ocean, and it is somewhat remarkable that he is never mentioned by Commander Carless, an officer of the same service; and that no reference is made to his report in the Kurrachee Harbour Correspondence published under the authority of the Bombay Government, nor in the Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, compiled by Mr Hughes, unless the latter includes it "in the numerous official reports, memoirs, and notes on Sind, written by Government officers of the different services, and extending down to 1854," which he mentions in the preface to his valuable work.* Porter is worthy of more attention than he has received. In his "Remarks on the Bloachee Brodia and Arabian Coasts" he tells us that "Crochey Town," which he visited in 1774-5, "is situated about five or six miles from where the vessels lay, and about a mile from the side of a creek which has not water enough in it for anything else than small boats." It is fortified by a slight mud wall and flanked with round towers, and has only two cannons mounted in all, and those so old, and their carriages so crazy, as would render the firing of them unsafe."

This statement is interesting as being that of an eye-witness, but Porter makes an assertion which has a bearing on the history of the town. He goes on to say "that it formerly belonged to the Bloachees, but the Prince of Scindy, finding it better situated than any part of his sea coast, for the caravans from the Inland Countries; made an exchange with some other place for it"—and Major Rennell tells us "that this Prince of Scinde was a Mohummadān of Abyssinian† extraction, his residence at Hydrabad on the Indus."

The date of the exchange will therefore have been after 1768, for the modern city of Hydrabād was not founded until that year, and the

* Mr Hughes probably refers to "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. xvii., New Series," but Lieutenant Porter's name does not appear in them.

† Query? "Abbasidian."

prince was evidently one of the Kalhora dynasty, which is said to have been descended from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet.

It was probably Ghulam Shah, a prince who invaded Kachh, and seized several ports on the Indus, and who died at Hydrabād in 1772, shortly before Porter's visit to Kurrachee.

But this statement is at variance with that made by the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," who says "that during the reign of the Kalhora princes the town was ceded *by them* to the Khān of Kelāt, and was garrisoned by men from that territory." Unless between the years 1770 and 1782, it again changed hands, for in the latter year died the last of the Kalhoras, it is not easy to make the two contrary assertions agree. It was certainly considered to be under the Government of the Amīrs in 1775, when the first English factory was withdrawn from Shāhbandar, for it is so mentioned in the M. S. Records of the Bombay Government of that year, although it is stated that the Amīrs at this time, happily did not interfere greatly with its trade.

It is probable that for a considerable period Kurrachee was left to its own devices, being regarded as but of little value, either by the Governors of Kelāt, or by the Amīrs of Sind, but the latter seem later on to have appreciated its importance, and in 1795 it was attacked by Karam Alī Tālpur, one of the younger brothers of Fatēh Alī, who succeeded the Kalhora dynasty, and being captured, when in a very defenceless state, it was annexed to the Central Sind Government and so remained until occupied by the British in 1839.

CHAPTER III.

ITS CONDITION AT THE TIME OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

THE building of docks and warehouses, and even the work of increasing the depth of water, and of turning by dredging, a shallow creek into a harbour capable of containing vessels of considerable tonnage, is simply a question of time and money. But when all this is done, it does not follow that shipping will concentrate at the harbour so formed. Its advantages and economies may be loudly trumpeted, and extensively advertised, but unless shipowners and shipmasters are satisfied that their own interests will be served by utilizing it, they will not give it their patronage. We need not look abroad—nor need we turn back to the pages of history to prove this fact; we have it prominently before us. It might be supposed that in London, docks and warehouses could be constructed and multiplied to any extent, and that still there would be trade for them all, but recent undertakings on our coast line, and even on the banks of the Thames, show that this is not the case; show, in fact, that it is wiser to wait until the demands of commerce and of shipping, substantiate the necessity for new ports and new harbours, before capital is invested for their creation in the hope of attracting trade.

On the Indus, from time immemorial, new riverine ports have been utilized; have had a certain period of existence; and have died a natural death; generally because the waters deserted them; but between Bombay and Sonmeanee there was not one permanent deep sea port until Kurrachee was called into being, and that only occurred when the demand arose for a harbour that could accommodate vessels of larger tonnage, than those by which the ordinary trade had been hitherto conducted.

Tatta, as already mentioned, was an important centre of trade, and even in the time of the Moghul Dynasty, before the consolidation of the Empire, a large business was carried on between it and the heart of the country. Withington, the account of whose travels is dated

1614, says, "In all this country of Sinda there is no citie of greater trade than Tutta; the chief port thereto, Lowribandar, three days' journey from thence, where is a faire road;" but the port, in Sind, when the British first disembarked their goods, was "Dehra Jam Ka," or "Aurunga Bandar," opened in the time of Aurungzib, who, after deposing his father, Shah Jehan, assumed the title of "Conqueror of the World" in 1658, and died in 1707.

From Aurunga Bandar the course of trade shifted to Shāhbandar, twenty miles to the westward, when the fresh water deserted the former port, and to this place goods were imported for the factory at Tatta, until its withdrawal in 1775, but Captain (afterwards Sir) Alexander Burnes, writing in 1837, says, "that a tomb, said to be that of one of the English residents, is yet pointed out at Dehra," and this would lead to the conclusion that there must have been Englishmen in Sind, even before 1758, which is the date given of our first settlement in the country, for in that year Aurunga Bandar or Dehra was no longer a landing place or port on the river.

Commander Carless mentions this very town of Aurunga in the report to which reference has been made. To his statement "that about eighty years ago, Kurrachee was situated five or six miles to the westward of its present position," he adds a foot-note that "sixty years ago there was another bunder or seaport of this name, on the Mull branch of the Indus, which is said to have had a population of 50,000 souls."

But why should there have been a town named after Aurangzīb in a district over which that Emperor never appears to have dominated? Or why in 1770 should there have been a large port in the neighbourhood of Kurrachee, where at that time there was, according to Porter, already a *great trade*, and when Sonmeanee, at a distance of only fifty miles to the westward, was a place of considerable importance, for the introduction of goods to Kelāt and the interior?

It is perhaps unjust to tie down the late Commander Carless and the Government of Bombay strictly to their statements of what occurred *about* 60, 80, *or* 112 *years ago*, but in treating of a coast-line, like that of Sind; in which every feature appears to have changed, except those of one or two bluff points, I am forced to take advantage of any discrepancies in those statements in order to prove my case, namely, that Rās Manora has defied the waves for centuries, and was ages ago the prominent land-mark, guiding the ancient mariner to the harbour of

Kiamārī, and to the low sandy Isle of Arrian, as it now does the modern one to the town of Kurrachee. For however worthless unwritten evidence handed down from generation to generation may be, yet public opinion accords in the belief that there is no smoke without fire, and that for every tradition there must be some foundation; and rather than give up the tradition, a story is manufactured to support it; but in the present case it must be allowed that the foundation is very weak. Commander Carless heard the story, and the Governor of Bombay in preparing a minute on the Kurrachee Harbour improvements, carefully examined all reports on the subject, and adopted that story, adding some notes of his personal experience, but I confess that I am not satisfied as to the existence of two Bandars or Ports of Aurunga, within a short distance of one another, and nearly co-existent, and I may add that recently I visited the spot still called Nowanal,* but found no indications of the ruins of a large town, nor could I discover any old burial ground in the immediate neighbourhood.

In 1799 Mr. Nathan Crowe, of the Bombay Civil Service, restored the Factory at Tatta, and obtained the Amir's permission to reside either there or at Kurrachee, but the Prince evinced great reluctance to allow a factory to be established at the latter place, and wished the ports of Shāhbandar and Tatta, as formerly, to be the abode of the English.

In the following year he enforced his wishes peremptorily, and Mr. Crowe was ordered to repair immediately *and without fail or delay, and with his dependants, to Tatta, and to limit his residence and concerns to that city.* Mr. Crowe believed that his dismissal was due to the jealousy of the native merchants at Kurrachee, but he had to obey, and the business of the factory was wound up in the course of a few months.†

There is very little information to be obtained regarding the port during the first quarter of the present century, but it was occasionally visited by vessels of the Indian Marine. It is mentioned that the Honourable Company's cruiser *Prince of Wales*, and a country ship, the *Maria*, were here in 1809, and were enabled to get away and return to Bombay in the height of the monsoon, by the help of a northerly land-breeze of which they took advantage.

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* Probably Nawa Nala, new Channel.

† MS. Record of the Bombay Government.

In 1832 Colonel Pottinger was sent on a mission to Sind, and during his residence in that country he visited Kurrachee.

To the many names already applied to that town he adds another. He says "the present name of the district in which Kurrachee is situated, in a native manuscript, dated 1809, was Kukrala, and I have reason to imagine that the very modern appellation bestowed of *Khoor Allee* is a bigoted corruption of that word."* In his time the fortifications were very mean and irregular, being in some places not above five or six feet high, and even there so broken that a horseman might ride to the top of them, while in others they were lofty and kept in excellent repair; "the whole are built of mud and straw and on the side towards the creek the works are faced to a certain height with masonry."

He considered that the fort on the promontory, that is to say at Manora, was judiciously placed, and that if good cannon were mounted on it and well served, no ship could approach it with impunity, and certainly not with effect, for her guns would require to be so greatly elevated to avoid striking the brow of the hill, that nine shots out of ten would pass over, and fall into the sea on the other side. He adds, however, that the same circumstance would undoubtedly screen her from the fire of the fort, but as she would be close under the hill, her decks might easily be cleared by matchlockmen, and therefore, in the event of its ever becoming necessary to take the place, the only plan would be to land troops at some distance from it, and carry it by escalade.

Another statement as to the condition of the Fort at Manora, at about the same period, was given by Dr. Lord. Dr. Percival (or *Percampt* as he always signed his name) B. Lord, M.B., of the Bombay Medical Service, was in medical charge of the Kabul Mission, headed by Captain (Sir Alexander) Burnes, and visited Kurrachee in 1837. He seems to have been a good all-round man, skilful in his own profession, an intrepid and inquiring traveller, a diplomatist and a man of science, possessing considerable knowledge of geography, geology, and botany, and a gallant soldier, who died sword in hand. He predeceased his chief, Sir Alexander Burnes, who was murdered at Kabul in 1841, by only a few months, dying at the disastrous action of Purwan-Durrah, where the British force experienced a sad reverse, in consequence of the scandalous defection of a regiment of native cavalry, the name of which was in consequence struck out of the army list.

* Sir H. Pottinger, Travels in Bloochistan.

At the time of Lord's visit there were eleven guns on the Fort which, in his opinion, could not have had any effect on a vessel going into the harbour, owing to the partial degree of their depression, but after passing the fort there was a 3-gun battery level with the water. At the time of his arrival there was no garrison, but during his stay 13 men arrived to defend the place. He tells us that between Kurrachee town and Manora there was no road, the ground being a marsh, and that even between the landing place and the town—a distance of three miles—there was no hard road, and that the only road by which troops, when landed, could approach the town, was from the east.

No opportunity has yet been afforded for testing the defensive powers of the batteries on Manora. The shot from the guns of H.M.S. Wellesley were not, however, entirely thrown away, as Colonel Pottinger supposed would be the case, for during the short bombardment on the 3rd February, 1839, a good deal of damage was done to the little hamlet perched on the top of the height (but there were no artillerymen to man the guns and return the fire, and no matchlockmen to sweep the decks of the seventy-four.)

The Bombay Government had for some time previously been collecting reports* and information, regarding the armies and fortresses of Sind, and the neighbouring countries, and when the occasion arrived for taking active measures, they dispatched a force capable of coping with a determined resistance, but no such resistance was offered; the Amīrs continuing, to the last moment, a policy of subterfuge and chicanery, and perhaps trusting that the treaty then under discussion with Colonel Pottinger would put an end to all differences, had made no preparations against an attack on their principal seaport, and when the British commander summoned Manora to surrender, it possessed no means of resisting the imperative demand. Manora is now being put into a proper state of defence, and a detachment of artillery ready for all contingencies is constantly stationed there, but while the fact is to be applauded that public attention has been turned to this point, in common with many other ports in India and the Colonies, and that an endeavour is being made to render them self-resisting, it is somewhat difficult to imagine when or how an opportunity will be given for proving the value of the defences of Kurrachee, and it is, of course, to be hoped that that opportunity will never arise.

* See Report on the Sindhian, Khelat, and Daoodputr Armies by Lieutenant R. Leech, Bo. Engineers.

The present importance of the port is due to its being the nearest point for the disembarkation of troops and stores, from Europe for the defence of the North Western frontier; and its future, and still greater importance, will probably be derived from its becoming the point of junction of a main line of railway from Europe, with branches to every part of India, and the neighbouring countries. In the event of war with Russia alone, it is to be supposed that our communication could be maintained viâ the Suez Canal, and that the value of Kurrachee would remain undiminished; but if to Russia should be joined one of the great naval powers, in all likelihood, notwithstanding conventions and treaties, that route would be closed to shipping, and the decadence of the port, at least temporarily, would commence. If it became valueless to us as a point of disembarkation, it would also lose its value for our opponents, and they would hardly run the risk of steaming up the west coast for the mere pleasure of bombarding Kurrachee. In the event of its becoming one enormous junction and railway depôt, no doubt that it would be well worth the while of an enemy to burn and destroy it, but its importance would then demand an outer line of defence in the shape of a naval squadron, which would have to be encountered and defeated, before Kurrachee could be reached. It is by no means my intention to depreciate the great value of the system of defence now being applied to the port, and my only object in referring to it, is to point out that a very pretty little piece of practice in the operations of a naval force against a land fortress; and a valuable insight into the effects of a high elevation of the guns of the former, and the partial degree of depression of those of the latter, have been lost to the scientific professions, owing to the negligence and remissness of the Amīrs, in not providing Manora with suitable artillery and matchlockmen, when H.M.S. Wellesley anchored off that point.

Of the condition of Kurrachee, just prior to and immediately after its capture, we are not destitute of information, and in addition to several official reports there is a plan of the town and harbour by Commander Carless, dated 1838, which is extremely useful in forming an idea of what the place then was, as compared with the results of the trigonometrical survey, and the more recent Admiralty Charts.

All alike agree that access to the town from the port was most difficult, that the town itself was a small, closely built, dirty place, that drinking water was very scarce, and that the number of inhabitants was about 14,000.

On Manora there was the fort, also a mosque, the same white tomb that Porter passed in his visit in 1774, and a few other buildings; from here ran the bay up to the town, in some places so thickly studded with clumps of mangroves (Rhizophora) that at a distance they looked like little islands, and in these bushes wild swine had their retreat.*

The principal channel leading to the town was bounded by mud-banks, and was so shallow at low water that nothing larger than a canoe could find a passage. At high tide large "dinghies" could get up to within three or four hundred yards of the landing place, and for about two hours in the day, inhabitants were able to land without inconvenience, on a small piece of rising ground close to the Custom House. Besides this channel there was another leading up to the town by a circuitous route, at the back of the islets, called the Chinna Creek, which was much used at low water, being the deeper of the two, but unfortunately it terminated in the centre of a broad mud flat which had to be crossed before the dry land was gained, and it was as difficult to get ashore at this spot as in other parts of the harbour.

The British force that occupied Kurrachee suffered greatly from the scarcity of water, and its bad quality. Captain Martin B. Neill, to whose "Recollections" reference has already been made, expresses his surprise that recourse was not had to the bed of the river Lyaree instead of to wells, and it is difficult to understand why this was not done, for at this time there were a great many water carriers, and their occupation was a very profitable one, as much as a Dokra (about $\frac{1}{100}$ part of a rupee) being given for a *Ghara* full of water.†

It has been stated that all authorities agree in estimating the population of Kurrachee at about 14,000, but there are one or two exceptions. Colonel Pottinger put it at a lower figure, and Captain Postans says it was a miserable place with only 8,000 inhabitants. Commander Carless, writing in 1838, says "at present it has a population of 14,000 souls, half of which are Hindoos, and the rest Belochees, Jokeeahs, Mowanas, and Jutts." Captain Hart estimated it at from 13,000 to 14,000, but adds that no correct calculation can be formed, as neither house nor poll taxes are levied, but from information obtained from heads of tribes he considers that in 1839 there were 9,000 Hindoos and

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* Travels in India by Captain Leopold von Orlich.

† Captain S. V. W. Hart.

4,850 Mahomedans, or a grand total of 13,850, but of the latter a great many were fishermen and boatmen who resided outside the town walls. Many of the Hindoo merchants were very wealthy, and as a body were more independent, and possessed greater influence, than in any other part of Sind. They mostly lived within the walls, but these were in so dilapidated and ruinous a condition, that they did not even serve to prevent goods being smuggled into, or out of the town. These merchants had agencies in almost all the neighbouring trading centres of any importance, as for instance Muscat, Herat, Kabool, Kandahar, Mooltan, &c., but they only traded with British India through Bombay, and that to a very small extent. They kept their money spread over a wide area, so that in the event of any heavy impositions being laid upon them by the despotic governors of the town, they could move away with facility, and without sustaining serious losses.

The more educated Muhammedans were discontented with their own Government, but cordially hated the idea of being subjected to ours. They are at the present time just as intolerant as when we first landed at Kurrachee. During our operations in Egypt they celebrated with illuminations and festivals, any real or imaginary reverse that our troops were reported to have sustained. The feeling of hatred that animates them is not personal to the British—it is general towards all the world that offers any obstacle to the propagation of the "true faith." The lower classes are said to have been idle and lazy, but with a great idea of their own superiority in the use of arms. They were accustomed to tell Captain Hart that the dreadful loss through sickness that our troops sustained at Tatta in 1839 was due to the wrath of the "lakh and twenty-five thousand Pīrs," said to have been buried below the very ground on which the force was encamped, and remarked that if the dead fought the good battle so successfully with the arms that they possessed, namely, *disease*, what would not their living descendants have done, had the opportunity been allowed them? The only exception to the character for indolence and unthriftiness given to the Muhammedans is in favour of the Kurrachee boatmen, who are stated to have been both bold and skilful. They were called *Mahonas*, and were respectable hardy fellows of a better class than the Mahonas of Upper Sind, and on the Indus, whose wives had not the best of reputations, which caused their husbands to be looked down upon.* The poorer

* Captain E. J. Delhoste, 16th Bo. Native Infantry.

classes earned their subsistence as retail dealers, carpenters, potters, dyers, navigators of small craft, &c., and seemed to have been fairly well paid, for our troops experienced great difficulty in hiring coolies on their arrival, the people preferring labour at will for small gains, to regular work with higher wages.

There were two governors, one military and the other civil. The agreement for the surrender of the town, dated the 7th of February, 1839, is signed by Hassil Ben Butcha Khān, Soobadar and Commandant of the Fort of Manora, in representation of Khyer Mahommed, the military chief, and by Synah Khān, sent by Ali Rakhi on the part of the Civil Government; and on the side of the capturers by Sir Frederick Lewis Maitland, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, of H.B.M. Naval Forces in the East Indies, and Brigadier Thomas Valiant, K.H., in charge of the land forces.

It may be mentioned that Kurrachee was the first place in India added to the British Empire after the accession of Her present Gracious Majesty, and the first place in the world, with the exception of Aden, which had been taken about a fortnight earlier.

After our occupation, and until the final annexation of Sind, the Amīrs continued to possess civil authority over the town and district, Manora being excepted, and appointed the Governors, who had the title of *Nuwāb*. The Nuwāb exercised very great powers, but from his authority there was an appeal to Hydrabād; and in some cases when complaints were made of injustice and tyranny they were at once listened to. Captain Hart mentions that a Nuwāb, Syud Goolam Shah, about 1832, forcibly converted a young Lohano to Mahomedanism. The Hindoos immediately closed their warehouses, and petitioned that the obnoxious Governor might be removed, which was at once accorded, and another person was appointed in his place; and some years later another Nuwāb was charged with ill-treating some of the lower class of Hindoos, whereupon the whole body of that tribe forwarded to the capital a petition of grievances, and he was warned to be more careful in his conduct for the future.

But such cases were exceptional, and generally speaking the Governor's authority was uncontrolled, although it was understood that he had no power to inflict capital punishment. Flogging, exposure in the stocks, mutilation, though of rare occurrence, and fining were chiefly resorted to, the latter being the most frequent of all, as a part of the amount was carried to the credit of the Government, but the remainder

became a perquisite of the Nuwāb, and served to increase his income. Flogging was very severe, the instrument used being the stem of the date leaf, which, if well applied, lays open the skin at every stroke, but if the offender possessed sufficient means to pay for his release, he was generally allowed to commute the penalty for a fine. A system of bribery and corruption passed through every branch of the service of the State. The Sepoy received fees to elude the vigilance of the *Amīls*, who in their turn exacted *Salamīs*, and took bribes to defraud the Collectors, and these again cheated the Government. Nor is it very surprising that this should have been the case considering the small salaries paid to the various officials, many of whom had to qualify themselves in the Persian language, in which all public documents were kept. The pay of the Nūwāb in 1839 was, including horse allowance, Rs. 240 per month, that of the collectors, who were next in authority to him, ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 35 ; a *Monshee* received Rs. 24 ; Amīls under Rs. 3 the lowest grade, to under Rs. 10 in the highest ; and it must be remembered that these payments were made in *Kashāñee* Rupees, the value of which was 50 *per cent.* less than that of the Company's Rupee. A sum of *Kora*, Rs. 120, was paid monthly to Jam Meer Ali for furnishing twenty Jokeeas and ten Belochees to guard the fort, but we are not informed what he paid to them individually. Their chief source of emolument was, however, derived from the privilege they enjoyed of furnishing escorts to the *Kafilas* proceeding to the interior, through the districts inhabited by their own tribes. Their rates were very reasonable the cost of an escort from Kurrachee to Hydrabād being Rs. 2½ per Sepoy, and to Tatta or Sonmeanee only Rs. 2 ; and it is stated that, notwithstanding the value of the merchandize placed under their charge, they never betrayed the trust confided to them.

The practice of the Amīrs had been that of *farming* the port duties, and in 1837 the sum paid for the right of collecting them was Rs. 70,000. This was exclusive of the duties on opium ; which fluctuated constantly, according to the greater or less quantity brought from Marwar for shipment at the port, amounting in some seasons to 1,500 camel loads, in others to not more than eighty. A bad opium season made a great difference to the revenue, for each camel load paid a transit duty of Rs. 130.

In 1809 the total revenue derived from the customs was Rs. 99,000, but in 1837 the annual average was estimated at above Rs. 150,000, and

in that year during which, opium transit duty was paid on 500 camel loads, the sum of Rs. 173,893 was collected.

The farming system appears to have collapsed through differences between the Amīrs. In 1839 there were no less than four of these holding sway over Sind: the brothers Nūr Muhammad and Nasir Khān, and the cousins Sobhdar and Muhammad. Only three of these sanctioned the appointment of Sadik Shah as Nuwāb, the fourth (Sobhdar) having given his vote to Moolchund, a Hindoo, whom he made his Collector. The Amīr Sobhdar received one share of the Nuwābship, and one-fourth of the *Kila-darship* through his agent, while the Nuwāb accounted for the remainder to the other three Amīrs, through their respective collectors.

The revenue of the Nuwābship was derived almost entirely from land and customs dues, the soil yielding nothing. On boatmen and fishermen taxation fell very heavily, but to the cultivators of the soil it was prohibitory. That the capabilities of production were great is proved by the fact that the fields irrigated by the Persian wheel, yielded large supplies of garden stuff, but no grain was grown for the simple reason, that the cultivator realized only one-fourth of the profit of his labour, the other three-fourths being seized by the collectors of the Amīrs.

It is not a matter of surprise that the lower classes were squalid and miserable, for the screw was turned until they delivered up to the Amīrs and their farmer, the last *Tunga* left to them after the absolute necessities for keeping body and soul together had been supplied, and it was a fortunate day for the poor wretches when they were transferred for ever from the rule of the Princes of Sind and the Khāns of Kelāt, to the less enacting British sovereignty, even though the salt duty may have been imposed, and a tax levied upon those who have an income.

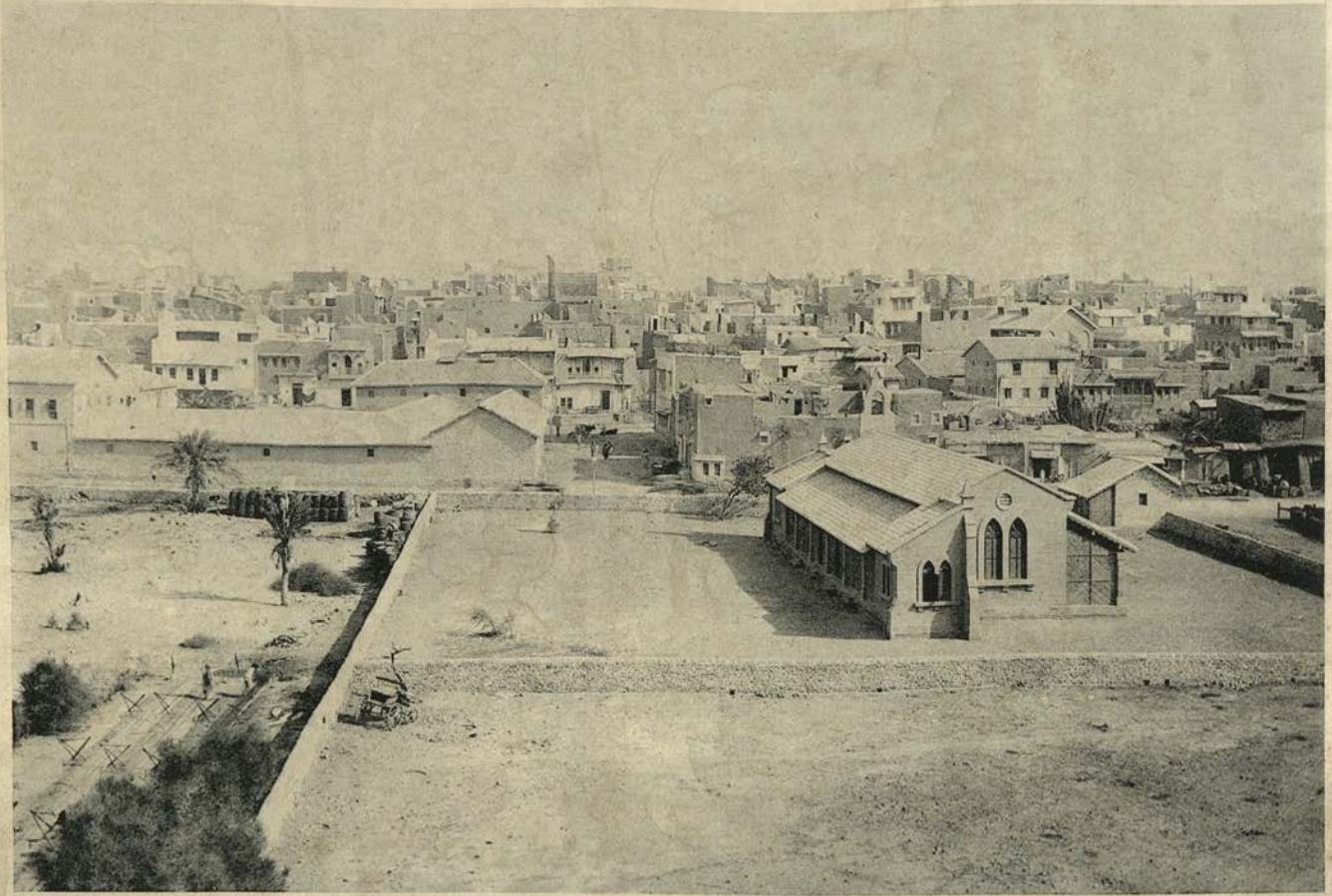
CHAPTER IV.

ITS TRADE AND COMMERCE BEFORE THE CAPTURE.

BEYOND the walls of Kurrachee city there were suburbs on two sides extending to some distance, and containing almost as many houses as the town itself. Gardens bordered the banks of the Lyaree for upwards of a mile, and must have covered the space now called Lawrence Road, and probably terminated with the present Government Gardens, where was situated the old English Factory. The trees were chiefly mangoes, with a few tamarinds, and the fruit of the former is said to be better than the common mango of India, although inferior to that of Bombay.

There were no buildings possessing any remarkable features, with the exception of the Chabootra or Custom-house stretched on arches across the road, which terminated at this point, but which has since been extended as already stated, along the Napier Mole; but the Muhammedans had 21 Mosques and 13 *Pīr kī jāgāh* in the town and neighbourhood, and the Hindoo Temples, *Fakir Maths* and *Dharmsālās* numbered 34. There were schools in which Hindū children were taught the Sindian language, together with book-keeping, and reading and writing letters, by Brahmans of the Sarsudh and Pokurnā castes, to whom each scholar carried daily a handful of rice and a few sticks, and to whom their parents paid one or two rupees monthly. Education was therefore costly, and as there was no State aid, it fell wholly on the parents and their children, but the latter, it may be supposed, were fairly well fed themselves, before they were charged to carry food to their preceptors. It is very questionable whether under our English School Board system, a child could be trusted to carry a handful of food to its master or mistress, when, as has frequently occurred, the poor little waif's breakfast has consisted of a drink of water; and it could hardly be blamed if it appropriated the food, destined in part payment of its education, to satisfy the pangs of hunger, but I believe that in Ireland school fees are still paid to some extent with peat.

Persian was taught by the *Mollas* to classes assembled in the



The Old Town—view from the Bandar Road.

mosques, and the charges were still higher, reaching to Rs. 4 monthly, with an additional present to the master on the completion of the child's education; but these charges were paid in the expectation that there would be a *quid pro quo*, and that the boy's training would enable him to obtain some employment under Government. The education of females was not encouraged, nor considered necessary; some few Muhammedan girls were taught to read the Korān, but the Hindū lasses received no instruction.

Slavery was an institution; as also was the slave trade. Not only were many slaves kept in the town, but Kurrachee was a great depôt for supplying the up-country districts. From 600 to 700 were annually imported, of whom about three-fourths were females, and as a tax of Rs. 5 : 8 : 0 was levied per head, a considerable sum was added to the revenue from this traffic.

Muscat was the port with which the trade was carried on. From that place boats were sent down the coast of Africa, with cargoes of coarse cloths and of dates, calling at certain spots, where the dealers would be awaiting them. In exchange for its cargo of cloths, the Muscat crew got a living one, consisting of Africans or *Siddees*, as they were called, mostly quite young children, these being considered preferable to grown up persons, who were more likely to run away.

The price at Muscat was from 15 to 30 *dollars* per head, and at Kurrachee they sold at from Rs. 60 to Rs. 100 each, according to their strength and appearance.

The Siddee boys were extremely intelligent and sharp at learning any trade, and the Kurrachee fishermen, who owned a good many, found that they made active and bold sailors.

Another class of slaves were the *Hubshees* or Abyssinians; they were brought down in much smaller numbers, not more than 30 to 40 in each year, and these were generally females of more mature age. Their cost was high, from Rs. 170 to Rs. 250, according to their good looks, and they were purchased for the households of men of rank, so much as Rs. 500 being sometimes paid for a great beauty. The price of a Hubshee boy was about Rs. 100, but they were only brought down on commission, and were seldom for sale. Then again there were certain classes of slaves not imported, but born in the town and its neighbourhood, as for instance, Guddos, the offspring of a Sindee Moslem and a Siddee woman, whose child would be a slave equally with herself, and the child of a Guddo and a Sindee father was called a Kambrāni. The

Brahooes, a tribe dwelling near Beyla, who were very poor and generally in want, made a practice of selling their children, and as these were better looking than Siddees, and able to speak the Sindian language, the Hindoos preferred them to all others as household servants.

The great cruelty of tearing them from their parents, in early childhood, was undoubtedly perpetrated on these unfortunate classes, but in their new homes they do not appear to have suffered any ill-treatment. In fact, it was the interest of a master to treat his slave kindly, in a place where many opportunities were offered for desertion. The male slaves of one family usually took to wife the females belonging to it, and did not connect themselves with the property of another master. They were treated as inmates and lived so comfortably that manumission, which was rarely practised, except for religious motives, would have been to them an evil rather than a benefit. In some exceptional cases they rose to distinction, but as a class they were celebrated for thievish, drunken, and lying propensities.

In the latter years of the Amīrs' rule, this trade with Kurrachee was more flourishing than ever, for any Arab *buggalow* carrying slaves and touching at a port held by the British was at once seized, and consequently the dealers resorted to those places which were still beyond our jurisdiction. According to Commander Carless not less than 1,500 slaves arrived at Kurrachee from Muscat and the African coast in the year 1837. The slave-trade has not yet died out, for quite lately some 25 unfortunates were brought into the port by a man-of-war, but the market no longer exists, the tax per head has ceased to be levied, and perhaps it will prove to have been the happiest event in the lives of the poor wretches, that a vessel carrying the English flag captured them, and restored them to liberty.

But Kurrachee before it became a British possession could boast of a very considerable trade in other branches of commerce besides that of "black ivory." In 1744 Lieutenant Porter stated that it had a "great trade," and in 1765, according to the MS. Records of the Bombay Government (1775), the trade in imported merchandize to Shikārpore, and the internal provinces by the Indus, had entirely died out, in consequence of the oppression of the Government and the vexatious delays and impositions put upon it by the farmers of taxes, and the result was that whatever trade remained between the sea and the interior, passed through Kurrachee, from which place the transit by road, to and from the Northern Provinces, was pretty clear of the

Sindian Princes' dominions. In 1775, as already stated, the Honourable East India Company's Factory was withdrawn from Sind, but in 1798 it was deemed desirable to renew commercial relations, and in the following year the attempt was made to establish a factory at Kurrachee, which was frustrated through the jealousy of the rulers of Cabool, or of Sind, or, as Mr Crowe thought, through that of the native local merchants. For some years our factories ceased to exist, though the Sindians in 1808 sued "for a re-establishment of the relations of harmony and friendship," and it was not until 1832 that the obstructions to English commerce on the Indus, and in its neighbourhood, were removed. But during these years, while the riverine trade had been decreasing, that of Kurrachee had been growing stronger, and more firmly established. The reason is not far to seek.

Tatta was the most convenient port to the rulers of Sind; it was the centre of Sind commerce; it was immediately under the control of the authorities, and it was easy to impose taxation and to collect it, but Tatta was removed from the sea by a distance of 60 miles, and even from Darajee, its port on the river, by 30 miles.

Then again its commerce was constantly being interfered with on political grounds—dynasties were frequently changed and confusion ensued—one chief dominated at Hydrabād, another collected the revenues at Tatta, and fixed the duties at his own will. While Tatta remained the trade centre, Darajee, its port, had a vast advantage over Kurrachee, the porterage being much lighter; for the land transport from the latter place was 70 miles as against 30 from the former, and moreover the duties were also lighter. But by sheer mismanagement the Amīrs spoiled the Indus trade, and then came the opportunity of Kurrachee, and even when the river was thrown open by British influence, and a flotilla was introduced on its waters, it was found impossible to revive the large commerce that had formerly existed in the marts of Tatta, and of other towns bordering on the Indus.

A comparison of the extent of the trade at these different places may be made by enumerating the amounts for which they were farmed from the Amīrs:—Darajee in 1839 was farmed for Rs. 7,000; Vikkur or Gora Boree, the port of the Delta, which included Shāhbander, for Rs. 40,000; Mughribee, situated on the Seer River, Rs. 32,000, and Luckput, on the Koree Creek, which belonged to the Rao of Kachh (Cutch), yielded from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 60,000 per annum. Kurrachee in the same year was farmed for Rs. 70,000, but the total

revenue derived from it, exclusive of opium duty, was Rs. 100,295, while the duties at Hydrabād, to which point the trade converged from the mouths of the Indus, and from Kurrachee, on exports and imports of goods of every description, opium excepted, only amounted to Rs. 125,000.

The transport of goods between Kurrachee and Hydrabād and the northern districts, had been conducted for many years partly by boat, partly on camels. There does not appear to have ever been a direct water connection between the port, and the main stream of the Indus, as has been supposed by some writers.

Sir Alexander Burnes was one of those who held the opposite opinion. Speaking of the Indus he wrote, "But if this river is destitute of a mouth by which ships may enter, the merchant has a means of supplying its wants by shipping his goods for Curachee which stands towards Sinde as Alexandria does to Egypt, only with this important advantage in favour of Sinde, that there is a natural channel by creeks inland, *and at present in use*, from Curachee, to the Indus, by which the flat bottomed boats of the country might convey the cargo of a ship into the river with safety." It is curious that Sir Alexander should have fallen into this error, and especially so, since the report from which the above statement is transcribed was written at Tatta, and in it he mentions an earlier report, dated the 29th of October, 1799, from Mr. Crowe, who was then residing at Kurrachee. According to the "sketch of the branches of the Indus as they are supposed to have existed in A.D. 1817," by Commander Carless, the Baghiār was its principal arm, and that flowed past Tatta and fell into the ocean by several mouths, the nearest of which was the Pitī, the westernmost angle of the Delta and six miles east of Kurrachee. Now if there had been any direct communication by water between Kurrachee and the Baghiār, Mr. Crowe would undoubtedly have selected that route for the despatch of goods to Tatta and Hydrabād, but he writes to the Government that he is preparing to introduce them to the Indus by Lahoree Bunder, which was close to Darajee, and removed by a considerable distance from the Pitī Mouth. In 1837, when Lieutenant Carless made a "sketch of the branches of the Indus, as they existed," the Baghiār branch was no longer connected with the Indus, the Chief Arm being then the Sita.

Goods were sent by the Ghisree Creek by *doondees* as far as Gharra, thence they were carried on camels to Jerruck, on the Indus, where they were again embarked for Hydrabād and Sehwan.

By this circuitous route the journey between Kurrachee and Sehwan occupied twenty-one and a half days, the delay in tracking boats on the Indus being very great, and the expenses heavy. Boat hire was Rs. 48, and the cost of a camel between Gharra and Jerruck, Rs. 4, making a total of Rs. 52. The direct road to Sehwan, 146 miles long, was in good order, with well-water in abundance, and the journey could be made by land in twelve days at a cost of Rs. 6 : 8 : 0 to Rs. 7 per camel. Consequently the merchants of Kurrachee in their own interests quickly adopted the land journey to Kuhdajee, whence two roads diverged, the one going in a northerly direction through Khajur to Sehwan, the other eastwards, falling on the Indus at Kotrī opposite to Hydrabād. This city was connected by good roads on both banks of the river, with Shikārpoor on the north, and to the eastwards, with Palee in Malwar, viâ Jaysulmeer, by which route the opium was sent down. Shikārpoor was then, as now, a town of first importance to the Indus trade, and, in fact, to that of Asia. It was always spoken of by the merchants as one of the gates of Kabool, the other being Dera Ghazee Khān, and native residents, who had seen other parts of India, described it as capable of being made "a second Bengal." They had agents at all the chief ports of Africa and India, and imported British goods through Kurrachee, which was its port. The town did a large trade in horses, of which from 500 to 800 came down the Bolan Pass yearly, chiefly from Kandahar and Shawl (Quettah), and were dispersed throughout Sind. Many of these found their way to Kurrachee, but still larger numbers came through Kelāt, for shipment to all parts of India. They are small in size and somewhat bull-necked.

Sehwan was not a place of such importance, but it was on one of the routes from Kandahar and Kelāt, to Kurrachee, and through this town passed many of the *Kafilas* travelling to and fro. But the duties exacted were extremely heavy, amounting to Rs. 30 per camel load on silks and piece goods, and Rs. 6 on all other articles. To avoid these heavy imposts, goods were conveyed on camels to Khelāt by the Beyla route, a journey which occupied twenty-six days, and which was rendered very dangerous by bands of plunderers, belonging to the Brahoee tribe, who infested the roads.

From Khelāt the goods proceeded to Kandahar in twenty days, and from that city in eighteen days to Kabool.

The average value of the trade of Kurrachee, according to in-

formation obtained (1837-8) by Commander Carless from the principal merchants of the place, amounted to about Rs. 2,146,625, the value of the exports being Rs. 1,599,625, and of the exports Rs. 547,000, exclusive of opium. Four fifths of the imports, were brought up from Bombay, and of these one half were silks and piece goods, etc., consisting of *madapollams*, long cloth, sheeting cloth, English broadcloth, superfine and coarse, and of different colours; China and Bengal silk handkerchiefs; silks, plain and figured, English, French and Chinese; *Sarees*, from Bengal; *kinkobs*, from Surat; chintzes, of various patterns; muslins of several descriptions, plain and flowered; coloured cotton handkerchiefs, and common English shawls; while the remainder was composed of sugars, spices, cocoanuts, dyes and drugs; lead, steel, iron, copper, tin and quicksilver; timber and sandalwood; raw silks in large quantities from China and Bengal, and cotton yarn from England. Cotton came from Guzerat and coarse cotton cloth from Upper Sind, which also supplied tobacco; Lus sent oilcakes, and from the Persian Gulf, which ranked next to Bombay in the value of its imports, were shipped thousands of *maunds* of dates, fresh and dried; dried roses, dried limes and dried fruits; almonds and pomegranate skins, pearls and slaves.

The cultivation of cotton had already been commenced in Sind, and therefore the quantity imported was unimportant; pearl oysters had also recently been found in the harbour, and from them had been obtained about 15,000 pearls, but they were extremely small and of little value, from their bad shape and colour. The opium came from Palee in Rajpootana, and was shipped to Demaun (Daman), a Portuguese settlement where the duty was said to be less than at Bombay, for export to China. A camel load of opium weighed eight maunds, an exceedingly heavy load, for the ordinary camel of India is not laden with more than six maunds, but the animals employed in the carriage of opium were of a very superior description. The opium was usually carried in bags of leather covered with felt, and not in boxes, as is now universally the case.

The chief articles exported in the year to which we are referring were *Ghee* and Indigo, their values being Rs. 170,000 and Rs. 120,000 respectively. Wheat was third, but considerably behind, the total quantity exported being 1,500 *Kharwars* (about 1,200 tons English), of an estimated value of Rs. 67,500, and then followed wool (Rs. 35,000), Madder (Rs. 45,000), raisins (Rs. 32,000), and salt fish

codsounds, and *sharkfins and maws for the China market*, valued at Rs. 30,000. The remaining items consisted of gums, dyes, and seed of two classes, Oil and *Jeerah*, but in very small quantities, in all amounting to Rs. 47,500 and together making a grand total of Rs. 547,000, exclusive of opium, the value of which in that year was estimated at Rs. 1,600,000.

Only a few articles were manufactured in the town, and these were *loongees* of two or three descriptions, coarse cloth and caps. The longees were usually composed of twenty-four threads of different colours, cotton and silk alternately, but those from Tatta were considered preferable. Cap making was and is a great business, but those manufactured at Hydrabād were esteemed to be more tasteful in appearance. Hydrabād at the present day is remarkable for its display of caps of all colours and shapes.

There was another manufacture, that of *gur*, the name given to a fiery spirit, preferred by the natives to all other liquors except brandy. Gur is in itself coarse brown sugar to which are added dates, bark of the babool and cassia, cloves, anise, &c., according to taste. These ingredients undergo three distillations, and the spirit produced was retailed by the Government contractors, to whom the authorities furnished the vessels for their preparation, the coppers for boiling, and the firewood for heating them, as also the colouring mixture, at a rupee per *seer*. To the taste of an European, the gur-jo-dárú, or alcohol distilled from raw sugar, is the nastiest compound that could well be presented, but it was and still is, much used by the poorer classes

On this spirit there was a tax which fell very heavily on them, as did many others. The tax on bullocks and camels amounted to one-eighth of the owner's earnings, and was collected daily. Potters paid in kind, nine pots from each kiln of earthen baked vessels being appropriated by Government servants, and so did fishermen; from each boat that entered the harbour, if it contained upwards of sixty fish, one sixth was taken as customs, and if a less number one fourth.

The largest sorts of fish dried and salted for exportation, such as Ringan and Seeree (varieties of cod-fish), had an additional tax levied upon them, and the crews of sea-going vessels belonging to the port paid each trip a capitation tax amounting to nearly one-tenth of their monthly wages. Considering these heavy imposts it is not surprising that the food of the fishermen was composed of dates and fish, with the addition of a little rice.

In 1839 there were 30 sea-going vessels, and about 100 canoes and *batelos*. The dinghees, or sea boats, vary in size from 50 to 150 *kandis*, or say 12 to 40 tons, and from their construction are well adapted for navigating the coast; they have great beam in the centre, and the bow and stern which are precisely similar in form, are very sharp; some are decked, while others have merely a steering platform, and they are rigged with a single lateen sail. The bottom is not round, but wedge-shaped, and a dinghee when aground has to be supported by props. They are very buoyant and sail fast in smooth water. The upper part of the stem is carved and ornamented with coloured cloth, shells and other trifles to propitiate the saints and secure success in fishing. The greatest draft is about 7 feet, but Sir Alexander Burns mentions that a vessel lies embedded above Vikkur on the Indus 20 miles from the sea, which could carry about 200 tons, and drew nine feet. Her name was the "Nau Khureed" or "new purchased," and the Sindians called her an *Armat* which suggests that she was Portuguese, and that the word is a corruption of "Armada." There can be no doubt that she was a ship of war, for guns and ammunition were found on board. She is supposed to have gone down suddenly, and Sir Alexander adds, "She now lies on dry land, a great curiosity, with large tamarisk bushes growing on what was her deck!" In the Wanyanee mouth there is another wreck, that of a large ship, called the "Futteh Jung," carrying 40 guns, the masts of which were standing in 1835, when they were removed by the natives.

One source of revenue does not seem to have been appreciated by the Amīrs. They allowed a camel-load of common salt to be sold in the Kurrachee bāzār for ten annas. We have changed all that; we found that the salt fields or beds at Maurypur and other places would yield a nice little annual income, and we imposed a duty, which has raised the price per maund to more rupees than it formerly was in annas, the cost of a maund of salt at the works at Maurypur is now Rs. 2:9:6, at which rate a camel-load averages about Rs. 15½, the revenue from the salt fields of Maurypur amounted in 1888-89 to Rs. 395,560, nearly 4 times the whole yield from the port in '39!

In another respect we are behind the Amīrs; they licensed one gambling house which was established in a Government building, and here alone were games of chance allowed to be played. It was farmed to a contractor who levied a tax of 3 *dokras* on each rupee won, and who, it is stated, was always ready to advance small sums to persons to whom chance had been unfavourable, being certain of obtaining the

assistance of the Government officers, if any difficulty was made in repaying him.

British morality swept away the gambling house and the tax, but has not done much towards the abolition of gambling, which is now widely spread over the city, and is stated to be greatly on the increase.

On the other hand, the British domination seems to have had some good effects. Opium-eating was very general before the conquest of Sind, but the consumption was quickly reduced owing to the increased expense, resulting from heavier taxation.

There can, moreover, be no doubt that the absorption of abominable alcoholic liquors was much larger before our intervention in the province, than it is now, notwithstanding the charges recently raised against the Government of India by the member for Flintshire, that their action in putting a heavier tax on intoxicating liquors tends to increase drunkenness throughout the country. The drinking existed long before we went there, but our occupation has brought about either an improvement in the quality of the beverage, or a reduction in the quantity consumed.

As to the general character of the people of Sind, shortly before the conquest, the late Assistant-Surgeon, J. F. Heddle, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, has given us the impressions that he formed during a residence in the country, which he modestly adds was too short to allow him to expect that much confidence can be placed in his opinions, but which nevertheless extended over a period sufficiently long to permit of his collecting information of great value that he submitted in the form of a "Memoir on the River Indus," in 1836. In this he says "The large masses of the indigenous population are particularly industrious, whether in the occupation of agriculture or the manufactures. The merchants of Sind are active and intelligent, well protected, though heavily taxed by the Government, but not so much so as to prevent foreign traders to leave their native country, and reside under the rule of the Ameers of Sind. Compared to any state between the Indus and Euphrates, Sind may be pronounced a country considerably advanced in civilization; the Government, though severe, is vigilant and well ordered; too sensible of its own interests to ruin either the commerce or agriculture of the country. The people are orderly and obedient, and the laws are respected."

The opinion formed by Lieut. (now Sir Richard) Burton ten years later is, however, by no means so satisfactory. Speaking of the *Sindee proper*, the descendant of the original Hindū population, converted to

Islamism, he says, "He is taller and more robust than the native of India. He is of darker complexion, and tolerably strong and muscular; but idle, apathetic, notoriously cowardly and dishonourable, addicted to intoxication, unclean in his person, and immoral in the extreme."

With regard to the dialect used in Sind, the same celebrated Oriental scholar says, "that Sindee is a language perfectly distinct from any spoken in India. Its grammatical structure is heterogeneous, the noun and its branches belonging to the Sanscrit, whereas the verb and adverb are formed, apparently, upon the Persian model. The only literature may be briefly described as religious and poetical, the former being translations of Arabic works on divinity, moral tales, &c., the latter being the popular traditions of the country, cast into rude and unartificial verse."

The greatest poet was Abdūl Latif, who was born about 1690 and died in 1751. A tomb was erected to his memory at Bhitshāh in the Hālā Taluka, a town founded by him, where a festival by Muhammedans is held in the month of May of every year to his honour, his saintly name being Shāh Abdūl. At Bulree, in the Kurrachee district, a mausoleum was erected in honour of his grandfather Shah Karim a Saiyad of Mataree, celebrated for his piety. The *ever near and ever pure* Saint of Sind was, however, Udēro-Lāl known among Muhammedans as Shekh Tahér, in whose honour fairs are held yearly, half-yearly, and even monthly at Lāl-Udēro in Hālā, and are attended by vast numbers of Hindūs.

We are told by an early traveller that, "The tutelar god of Corachee is a scaly monster, with a train of females and dependants nourished in the muddy rivulets which flow from the hot springs near Corachee, called Peer Mungo, from the name of a saint who formerly resided there." The name of this saint was Kamaldin, but his tomb was erected at Mangho Pīr, a range of low hills outside Kurrachee, from which is taken his present name. Later on we must return to this spot, which forms one of the suburban attractions of the town.

CHAPTER V.

THE HARBOUR.

IT has already been stated that the construction of the mole bearing the name of Napier, was the first step towards the advancement of Kurrachee. Before it was made, landing at or leaving the town was neither a pleasant nor a dignified undertaking; the general officer and the new fledged subaltern; the old civil servant and the recently appointed writer, had all alike to undergo the operation of being carried pickaback by natives across the mud flats, to and from the boats that had brought them towards land, or that were to carry them away.

The traveller's baggage was carried on bullocks and the load put upon the animals, is stated, by an eye-witness, to have been almost incredible; one of them having been seen with twelve dozen of beer and a bag of rice upon its back! Weight-carriers as they were, they do not seem to have been always sure-footed, for in the MS. Records of the Bombay Government there is the petition of an officer for compensation, as the whole of his kit had been destroyed in consequence of the fall of the bullock charged with its carriage, in the deep mud of the Bandar.

Few harbours have given so much scope for official correspondence and controversy, as that of Kurrachee. Captain S. V. W. Hart, of the Bombay Infantry, in a report submitted in 1840, nearly 50 years ago, says "the port and harbour have been *so often* described that it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of it," but since that date volumes have been written; and endless suggestions have been offered for its improvement by numbers of Military and Civil Engineers, involving, as might be expected, almost as many different opinions. In 1856 docks were suggested on the east side of the Mole; in 1858 it was recommended that they should be built on the west; and in 1876 docks do not enter into calculation. Why it should ever have been thought that artificial docks were a necessity, is not clear to an ordinary observer, for a glance

at the chart shows that in size and shape the harbour has all the requirements of a dock, if that word be used to signify an enclosure or basin for ships to lie in. Its configuration is that of a parallelogram, by no means irregular, except at the sea entrance.

On the north, east, and west a shallow breakwater spreads out, through which runs one river, the "Layaree," and a number of creeks connected with it. When heavy rains fall in the hills, the Layaree flows with water, but this only occurs for a few days in the year, and generally it is perfectly dry. The creeks drain the marshy ground and mud flats, which are covered with water, at high tide, nearly to Nowanal on the west, and to the railway embankment on the east of the Napier Mole. The defects of the harbour were a bar at the mouth, and an insufficient depth of water, with liability to changes owing to partial exposure to the monsoon sea, and to the irregular action of the Layaree, and of the creeks referred to, which, as already mentioned, according to Commander Carless, were forces not to be despised, sometimes closing one channel, and under extraordinary circumstances forcing a passage by another.

The power which the Layaree exerts in scouring the lower part of Harbour is, according to one authority, quite insignificant, but its effects on the upper part are more important, and there is no doubt that its floods bring down a great quantity of gravel and sand.

To prevent these deposits being carried into the bay, the first idea was to carry a groyne across the northern extremity of the harbour, diverting the waters of the Layaree and of the creeks, and leaving it to be scoured out by the tidal currents.

This suggestion, for the improvement of the port, which is the earliest that I have met with, is not without support from officers of the military, naval, and mercantile marine services, even at the present day, who maintain that the scouring by the inlets is very partial and ineffectual, but that the silt deposited, immediately after a heavy fall of rain in the hills, is very great, and cannot easily be removed by the tidal currents, even with the assistance of dredging. They say, in fact, that more sand is brought down than can be expelled by the ebb current, and that consequently the intermittent floodings of the Layaree, serve gradually to lessen the depth of water, and that therefore their entrance into the harbour should be prohibited.

If their reasoning be correct it would appear that Kiamārī might have been rendered a deep-water harbour without any very great expenditure; but this opinion was not held by the local engineers and by

others who were called in for advice, and who arrived at the conclusion, that the proposals regarding the Lyaree River, were both unnecessary and impracticable.

It has been mentioned that the Harbour Works have given rise to a great deal of correspondence and controversy. Even selections from that correspondence, published in the Records of the Bombay Government, fill several volumes, and contain a number of reports which have only an indirect bearing on the subject.

Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor of Sind in 1843, and from that time took a great interest in the improvement of the Harbour. He proposed to widen the entrance, to construct docks, to build a timber pile pier at Kiamārī for native craft and lighters, and to form the causeway between that point and Kurrachee; but time and circumstances did not admit of his carrying into effect, or even commencing, half of the proposed works. The last two were, however, initiated and started during his administration; but when he left Sind, in October, 1847, nothing had been done towards rendering the port more accessible to shipping.

Up to 1851 only one ocean sailing vessel had entered the Harbour, for owners were deterred from sending their ships thither in consequence of a current report, founded on the survey of Commander Carless, that the Bar was rocky. An armed steamer, the Honourable Company's Cruiser Queen, had, however, frequently entered and left during the height of the Monsoon, and when an examination of the Bar was made in 1852, and it was proved that to a depth of 8 feet at least below its surface no rock whatever existed, the prejudice against Kurrachee was to a great extent removed, and in October of that year the Duke of Argyll, a sailing vessel of 800 tons, carrying troops, and a cargo of coal and iron, entered the Harbour, the pioneer of an ocean trade that has steadily and rapidly increased. But the Bar was still a great impediment, and it frequently occurred that vessels, after making Kurrachee, were obliged to bear away for Bombay to lighten, because they could not cross it, and before any improvement was seriously taken in hand one vessel, the Julia, was wrecked, and several men and horses belonging to the Battery of Field Artillery that she had on board, were lost.

To Major Turner, of the H.E.I.C. Bo. Engineers (now General H. Blois Turner, R.E.) is due, during the administration of the late Right Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.B., who in 1853 was Commissioner in Sind, the credit of having adopted a course of action which

removed the question of harbour improvements at Kurrachee from the usual red-tapeism of Public Works Departments, and rendered it one of public interest.

Major Turner had been consulted as to whether the port could be so improved as to be available for the ordinary run of merchant ships at all seasons of the year, and in a letter dated 29th July, 1853, he recommended that inquiry should first be made as to whether the rising importance of the port demanded a large outlay (for large it undoubtedly would be) for its improvement, and if the result of that inquiry should be in the affirmative, that Government should then be asked to sanction the necessary preliminary surveys, &c.; and he adds, "Should Government order the preparation of the plans and estimates I should further advise that on completion they be submitted for the professional opinion *of some one of the first engineers in England accustomed to the consideration of such subjects;* practical experience in such works is far more valuable than all theory, and it is only such men as I have above alluded to who have the opportunity of carrying out large works of this description, and thus of acquiring practical knowledge."

Major Turner was at this time Superintending Engineer, and he would have been perfectly within his rights had he retained in his own hands the control of the proposed works; but at a sacrifice of personal and professional pride, and solely with a view to the public interest, he recommended that the whole subject should be referred to experts, who had made harbour works their peculiar study.

A careful survey of the port and neighbouring coast was made, but no other action was taken until Turner (now Colonel) reiterated in 1856 the advice previously given in 1853, and then the Court of Directors after consultation with the Lords of the Admiralty, summoned to their aid the late Mr. James Walker (of the firm of Walker, Burges, and Cooper), who enjoyed the highest reputation, had been for several years President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and who probably had more experience in matters relating to the improvement of harbours than any one of his contemporaries.

Mr. Walker submitted his first report on the 8th September, 1856, and this was considered so favourable that he was instructed to send a Deputy to Kurrachee to make a further survey, and to collect the local information required for making detailed plans, and framing estimates. The gentleman selected was Mr. William Parkes, a Civil Engineer of considerable experience, who visited Kurrachee in 1857, and on his

return home Mr. Walker's second report, dated 8th September, 1858, giving the estimated cost of the works that he recommended, was submitted.

It is only natural that the selection of a Civil Engineer, unconnected with the Indian Services, should have been regarded by some naval and military men in a different light to that in which it was viewed by Colonel Turner, and several of them offered strong opposition to Mr. Walker's designs, and with their reports, memoranda, and criticisms helped to form the voluminous correspondence that I have mentioned.

On one of them Colonel Turner "sat," so to speak, very heavily. He says: "Being in England when Mr. Walker's second report was published, I had many opportunities of hearing its merits discussed by Civil Engineers of experience, and certainly the general opinion was strongly in its favour. It remained for a young officer of Her Majesty's Indian Navy, bearing a very high character as a nautical surveyor, but whose knowledge of harbour civil engineering must, I imagine, be *heaven-born*, to condemn it in the most wholesale and unmeasured terms," and then he proceeds to deal with "the young officer's" arguments, and proves them to have been based on altogether erroneous assumptions to his own satisfaction, and probably to that of his superiors, as instructions were frequently sent to the Commissioner in Sind, not to permit any deviation from the original design of Mr. Walker, without the sanction of Government.

Colonel C. W. Tremenheere (now Lieutenant-General and C.B.) was another opponent of that design, and of a different calibre, for he mentions in a letter to Government, dated the 5th January, 1863, that he had studied for many years the question of harbour improvements, and that although he had never felt confident of the result of the operations undertaken, he had, nevertheless, done all in his power to ensure their successful completion. He broke a lance, as has been already mentioned, with the Governor of Bombay, over the earthquake, that, according to tradition, had destroyed a city in the neighbourhood of Kurrachee, and unfortunately he more than once came again into contact with that high official.

Although Superintending Engineer in Sind, on one occasion he is informed that "as there is no chance of his changing his views, which are entirely opposed to the whole plan of Mr. Walker's project, he is absolved from all responsibility connected with the Harbour Works, and is requested to abstain from all interference with them, or with the

officers employed on them." On another he incurs the censure of Government, because his annual report on general operations embodied a report on the Chinna Creek. He dutifully expressed his regret, but at the same time claimed a right to express his professional opinion and declared his concurrence in the reasoning of the eminent men "who deprecate the attempt to remove a sand bar by scouring it into deeper water." Colonel Tremenheere seems to have been a thorn in the side of the Bombay Government, but in the end he carried his point. In a report dated May 19, 1864, he recommended that its subject matter, together with all the drawings accompanying it, should be referred to a committee of scientific men, and in September, 1865, in an exhaustive "review by the Government of India of the operations undertaken for the improvement of the Harbour of Kurrachee and of their effects," the Secretary of State decides that it is "a measure of the most ordinary, as well as of the most obvious prudence, to adopt the course suggested by Colonel Tremenheere, and Mr. Walker being dead (he died in 1862), to submit the whole question to the unbiassed opinion of some independent engineering authority of eminence in England."

The eminent authorities elected were Messrs. D. and T. Stevenson, Harbour Engineers of Edinburgh, and their opinion being adverse to the principles and details of the late Mr. Walker's design for the improvement of the Kurrachee harbour, the Secretary of State for India, who had succeeded to the control *vice* the Court of Directors deposed, summarily directed the stoppage of the works. But this by no means concludes the correspondence; for Mr. Stevenson gives a report, which is commented on at length by Mr. Parkes, and after that a committee assembled at Kurrachee to report on the works and strongly supported the views of Messrs. Walker and Parkes.

It is time, however, to follow the example of the Secretary of State, and summarily to stop references to, and extracts from the redundant correspondence, on the harbour. It is not altogether uninteresting, and a careful student may gain a good deal of useful incidental information that crops up now and then, and should he follow the reasoning of the various disputants, he will be carried far away from India, and will have to compare the intended improvements of Kurrachee with those of several ports in other lands. One controversialist will carry him to the race of Alderney, another to Dublin, a third to the Firth of Dornoch, and a fourth to the Joliette Harbour, at Marseilles.

But to wade through it all is a terrible trial. It is prefaced by a *memorandum* which offers an apology to this extent, namely, that "the portions of the papers have been classed together *as far as possible* under a few chief heads, but that they are somewhat fragmentary," but this is hardly sufficient inducement to the reader to whitewash a compiler who obliges him at every step to turn back one hundred pages, or to skip forward over fifty, in order to find the preceding or concluding paragraphs of the memorandum that he is perusing, the whole of which should be continuous.

A Parliamentary Blue Book is not intended as an addition to light literature, and it generally demands a good deal of careful consideration before its contents are mastered, but it nevertheless maintains some order and arrangement. A Bombay *Buff Book*, at least such an one as that which refers to the Kurrachee Harbour Works, is a puzzle doubtless of easy solution by professional men, but sealed to the laymen of ordinary capacity, and our thanks are, therefore, all the more due to a gentleman who has solved that puzzle, and has produced a summary of the correspondence and reports, confined within the limits of a "paper," giving a succinct account of all that has been done, in a form well suited to the general reader. But this gentleman *was and is* professional, and possessed exceptional advantages.

Since the British occupation there has been a succession of Commissioners in Sind, all of whom have taken an interest in the advancement of Kurrachee, and in the improvement of its port. The progress has been more marked during the administration of some who have held that high position than in that of others, but this cannot be charged as a fault against the latter, for they were subordinate to the Governors of Bombay, and dependent on them for supplies, and for the means of carrying on the works. And Governors are only like other men, they differ in temperament, and are even capable of betraying jealousy of one another. One strongly supported the original design—the engineer who formed it—and the officials who superintended the construction of the works; but his successor disapproved of the plan, snubbed the engineers, and stopped the operations, but, on the whole, Kurrachee has to be thankful to the Governors of Bombay and to the Commissioners who from time to time have been appointed to the charge of Sind. One of the latter became himself Governor of Bombay, some have died, and others have retired to enjoy a well-deserved repose, honoured and decorated.

In the same way there has been a succession of Engineers, both civil and military. Of the former, as already stated, Mr. Walker died in 1862, and I have to add that Mr. W. Parkes, during whose service as Consulting Engineer between 1868 and 1873 the first series of works (including the Manora Breakwater) were practically completed, and who from 1880 to the date of his decease acted as Engineering Agent in England for the Harbour Board, and afterwards for its successor, the Port Trust, died on the 5th February, 1889. Of the latter, two at least who did able and zealous work at Kurrachee, namely, Generals H. B. Turner and C. F. Merriman, C.S.I., held at different times the high and responsible position of Secretary to the Public Works Department, Bombay.

But of the many writers who have aided, with statements, reports, controversies, and disputes, in forming the voluminous correspondence on the harbour, only one is still taking an active part in carrying into effect the works that he partly designed, and to which he has added many improvements. This is Mr. W. H. Price, M. Inst. C.E., and author of the "paper" to which I have referred. Commissioners and Chief Engineers may come and go, but the Superintendent of the Harbour Works appears to go on for ever. Since 1860 he has held the appointment, and with the exception of short furloughs, has been unceasingly in harness. Nearly thirty years in possession of an appointment of great responsibility is a fine record of service, and one that might have called for some special mark of Imperial favour, but I do not find that the long and honourable performance of his duty, has brought to Mr Price any further recognition, than a favourable notice by H.M. Secretary of State for India, when the Manora breakwater was completed. Kurrachee is a long way from the firmament of Simla or Calcutta, whence the stars are showered down, and to the best of my recollection even during the Jubilee year, only one little wanderer reached that town, and that settled on the breast of the Commissioner.

The "paper" was read before the Society of Arts in London, on the 23rd May, 1879, the late Sir William L. Merewether, K.C.S.I., who was Commissioner in Sind from 1868 to 1877, being in the chair, and Mr. William Parkes, Consulting Engineer being also present, and taking part in the discussion which followed its reading.

Mr. Price has permitted me to make use of his paper, and to the information that it contains has kindly added his notes of a much later date.

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KURRACHEE, (KARÁCHI) by Alexander F. Baillie.

The chart of Commander Carless is stated by the Public Works Department of Bombay to be the earliest on record, but the plan by Lieutenant Mascall, already given, is nearly one hundred years older. Mascall's is, however, only a sketch, while Carless, with the assistance of other officers of the Indian Navy, has left an elaborate trigonometrical survey. This is now reproduced, and distinctly portrays the formation of the harbour, with its obstacles and difficulties as they existed previous to the British occupation, and for some years afterwards. The plan opposite to it, shows the condition of the harbour at the present time, and the means that have been adopted to reduce, or to remove those obstacles and difficulties. The two plans speak for themselves, and with some brief extracts from Mr. Price's paper, I think that the reader will have no difficulty in grasping an idea of the improvements that have been introduced. To render the subject still more clear, and as I do not pretend to write for professional readers, I have struck out, except where absolutely necessary, the monsoon, current, and tidal lines, and also the soundings.

The extracts that have been given from the "correspondence" terminated with the suspension of the works, which occurred in 1866, and was prolonged until the beginning of 1869.

The earliest operations commenced in 1860, were mainly directed to two objects, viz., to shelter "the bar" from the heavy seas of the south-western monsoon, and to direct and increase the tidal scour in the harbour, and across the bar.

At the outset, owing to financial considerations, and very much against the wishes of Mr. Walker, the sanction of the Secretary of State was confined to the construction of works bearing on "scour," and on the shelter of the bar, and the consequence was that the breakwater at Manora had to be postponed. This postponement led to greatly increased cost, for it directly checked the full development of benefit from the other works, and gave a colour to objections which were raised against the original design, and as has been already stated, led to new opinions being called for, and eventually to the suspension of the works.

But in 1869 they were begun afresh on the recommendation of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, then Governor of Bombay, who personally inspected the port.

The Kiamārī Groyne commenced in November, 1861, was completed in March, 1863. It required for its construction 177,591 tons of

stone, and cost Rs. 396,138, or say Rs. 2¼ per ton, including establishment and plant. The East Pier, a continuation of this Groyne was commenced in April, 1864, and completed in November, 1865, and while these works were being raised to defend the harbour from outside attacks, scouring internally was actively carried on; the new Channel was being formed; the iron bridge at the town end of the Napier Mole was in course of construction; a first assault had been made on Deep-water Point, and the Native jetty that had been formally made over to the Collector of Customs on the 1st July, 1886, was affording great facilities to the increasing trade of the port.

But the result of these operations was by no means so satisfactory as had been expected, and Mr. Price confesses his disappointment that the scour created by the Groyne did not prove sufficient to remove the bar, which, however, he adds, was due to the recurrence of the monsoon.

Mr. Price was a strong supporter of Mr. Walker, and of his successor, Mr. Parkes, though he freely criticised their plans, and in the report of a committee convened at Kurrachee to consider certain questions affecting the works for the improvement of the harbour, of which each member was desired to state his opinion as to what should be done to effect further improvements, he warmly sustained what he described as the *right hand* of the Walker-Parkes entire scheme, namely the Manora Breakwater.

The report is dated the 19th June, 1866, and the signatories agreed that no permanent benefit could be derived until the Breakwater should be constructed. In 1869 sanction was given to commence the work, and on the 1st November, 1870, the first block was fixed by Sir William L. Merewether, then Commissioner in Sind.

The work is an exceedingly important one, and has attracted a good deal of attention in the engineering world.

The structure consists of a base of rubble stone, levelled off at the top to fifteen feet below low water; on this base concrete blocks, made of Portland cement, river sand, shingle, and quarry lumps, mixed with salt water, and weighing twenty-seven tons each, were set by a steam travelling crane, called the "Titan," two in width, and three in height, making a square of twenty-four feet in cross section, the top being about the level of high water.

The total length is 1,500 feet, the cost was Rs. 1,090,000, including establishments and plant, and although not completed until 1873, it was really built in three working seasons, or say about twelve months

At first it suffered somewhat from the monsoons, but by degrees it has settled down, and become consolidated. For a number of years it has stood well, and although on one or two occasions there have been exceptionally high tides accompanied by heavy seas, yet the only repairs that have been requisite were renovations of the concrete capping, and some small supply of rubble to feed the base.

The Napier Mole, although affording very great benefit to the commerce of the town, had at first a bad effect on the harbour. It cut off a considerable area, and it divided into two portions the "Chinna Creek," which has been mentioned as the route at one time adopted by the larger boats approaching Kurrachee, for as originally constructed there was no opening in all its length between the main land and the island of Kiamārī. The result was that the Creek ceased to have any scouring effect in the west channel, but became greatly enlarged at the mouth where it entered the sea.

Sir Charles Napier had intended that the Mole should have had openings, and was doubtful as to the propriety of closing the creeks, but his advice was overruled by that of his senior naval officer, who thought that by closing them up the rush of water along the western side of the Mole would be increased to an extent sufficient to deepen the boat channel, and Captain Hill, who began the Mole under the General's orders, and afterwards completed it, left a rough estimate of the cost of erecting a bridge after the Mole was finished, in accordance with his chief's idea.

Later on that idea was accepted by Mr. Walker, who strongly urged the cutting of the Mole at the upper extremity, and the closing of the sea mouth of the Chinna Creek, so that its waters should run into the western channel and the harbour itself.

The design was strongly opposed by many, and among others a Commander-in-Chief, the late Sir William Mansfield (first Lord Sandhurst), remarked, "When the Chinna Creek shall have been closed, which I suppose will largely increase the already formidable force of the ebb tide, where are the ships to lie? Can their moorings be laid in a tideway running as fast as Alderney Race?"

But when it was closed, and the Mole was cut, the effect on the upper harbour channels was very favourable, while on the lower harbour, where the ships lie, it made no appreciable difference.

Materials for constructing a bridge 1,200 feet in length reached Kurrachee in June, 1861, and the screwing of the piles commenced on

the 17th of the following month. It was completed in 1865, at a cost of Rs. 643,440, but the embankment over which the railway passed was not removed until some time afterwards, and a still longer period elapsed before it was ultimately decided to close the mouth of the Chinna Creek.

An examination of the reproduction of Commander Carless's survey will explain more fully than words can do, the vast changes that have been made in the very form of the harbour during the half century that has passed since he visited it, and if this survey be compared with the most recent chart the increase in the depth of water may also be estimated.

The objects of the breakwater are to withstand the force of the waves driven before the south-west monsoon, and to protect the vessels lying at anchor. Instead of rushing directly up the harbour the course of the billows is diverted, and they roll against the east groyne; thence they turn, and break with diminished force on what was called Deep Water Point. This is gradually disappearing, and its disappearance is in a great measure due to the action of the waves, which have been utilized in making an improvement that, without their aid, would have been excessively costly.

In the survey of Carless, Deep Water Point is very prominent, and on it stands the Round Tower, a fort which, with the one on Manora point, a mosque, and a few dwelling houses, were the only buildings on the promontory at the time of his visit. All that now remains of the point is a detached rock, of coarse conglomerate, about two and three-quarters acres in extent, but flanked by more than a dozen acres of shingle and sand, which still form an obstruction, of which the removal will have the effect of considerably widening the channel, and of giving room for additional moorings to be laid down. The expenditure of two and a half lakhs of rupees has already been sanctioned, and the removal, which it is estimated will take about two years to complete, was commenced in February, 1888.

So also has been sanctioned the expenditure of one lakh of rupees for the curved extension of the East Groyne for a length of 500 yards, which is required to guide the flood tide that circles round to the eastward before entering the harbour, and rushes abruptly across the end of the present Groyne, causing eddies and disturbances in the adjoining portion of the anchorage. This extension is now nearly finished, and a further work in course of construction is the "groyning"

of the west side, which will, to some extent, reduce the width of the lower harbour, but will give greater strength to the "scour." To conclude this account of the portion of the harbour and anchorage ground, situated between the entrance and Kiamārī, it will be well to point out the changes that have been introduced since the British occupation took place fifty years ago. From the report and survey submitted by Commander Carless about this time, it may be deduced that he regarded Kurrachee from a very different point of view to that from which we now look upon it. He treats of a *bay* extending from Manora Point to the mouth of the Chinna Creek, whilst our ideas are contracted to a *harbour*, the entrance of which is between the same point and the extremity of the East Groyne. "To the eastward of the Cape," he says, "the shore receding abruptly, leaves a deep bay separated from the swamps in the vicinity of the town by a narrow ridge of low sandhills, and having a group of rocky islets nearly in its centre. The sandy ridge is isolated at high tide by the Chinny Creek, and terminates about two miles above the entrance of the harbour, in a low point called Keeamary. From this point a sand bank which dries at low water extends nearly as far down as the fort on Munhora Point; and the space included within this shoal, and the opposite or western shore from Keeamary to Munhora Point, forms, strictly speaking, the harbour of Kurrachee, for it is the only portion of it that affords anchorage for vessels of any size."

The breadth at Kiamārī was nearly half a mile, but at the narrowest part, just below the Round Tower, it was not above 300 yards wide; and down the centre of this anchoring ground there ran another spit of hard sand, which contracted the channel along the western shore to 240 yards. The depths at high-water varied from three-and-a-half to five fathoms, although in some parts it was deeper.

The broad bank occupying the eastern side of the great bay commenced at Manora Point, forming a bar across its mouth. Along this ran a narrow ridge of smooth rock from the Point to the group of islands which Carless states had no definite names, and of which he designated the three largest, North Island, Middle Island, and South Island. These are now known as Chota Andai, Baur Island, and Bara Andai respectively, and collectively as "Oyster Rocks." At high tide there was a depth of nineteen feet over the bar in the proper channel, and it could be crossed without difficulty by vessels drawing fifteen or sixteen feet.

Through this bar a channel has now been opened, giving a direct entrance twenty feet deep at *low water*, 500 feet in width, which will be gradually increased to 1,000 feet, and half a mile in length, through which vessels with a draught not exceeding twenty-two and a half feet can enter and leave the port without difficulty or delay, during all seasons of the year; and during the fair season—from October to 15th May—the draught may be increased to, but should not exceed twenty-four feet, which is two feet more than that of H.M. Indian troop-ships; and it has, moreover, been decided to deepen the entrance by two feet extra, in order to allow of the entrance of troop-ships at all times.

The east groyne at the present time bisects the sandbank, which is stated by Carless to have formed one limit of the anchorage, and the new channel cuts through the very spit of hard sand which, according to the same author, ran down to the centre of the old one. The average width of this channel at the minimum depth of twenty feet at low water, is now 584 feet against 547 feet in 1886-7, the depths ranging from twenty to twenty-eight feet, and in it are laid down five fixed head-and-stern moorings, for ships of the largest class, where they can load to a draught of 24 to 25 feet, and ten swinging moorings for vessels of smaller size.

The above summary will suffice to explain the material changes that have been made in the topography of the harbour since the British occupation, and it will be advisable to point out shortly the facilities that are now offered to vessels visiting the port, which have resulted from the improvement works.

The main object of those works, as directed by Government, was to obtain such a depth of water as would allow Her Majesty's troop-ships to enter or depart at all times. On the 6th March, 1886, the "Euphrates," of 6,211 tons, and drawing at the time of entering, 23 feet aft was safely berthed alongside the Merewether Pier at 8.30 a.m. Her living freight, consisting of 1,200 men of a battalion of the Yorkshire Regiment, were at once disembarked, and the vessel was immediately hauled off and anchored in the stream. At 6 o'clock that evening she proceeded on her voyage to Bombay. The fact is worthy of record, this being the first occasion on which a troopship had been allowed to enter the port, and anchor at the pier.

As regards the mercantile service, Mr. C. Barnes, commander of the "Branksome Hall," one of the Hall Line of steamers, of 3,450 gross

register tonnage, has kindly given me his opinion of the harbour. He writes:—"Trucks come down alongside the ship, and the cargo is hoisted out by hydraulic cranes from the ship's hold and placed in them. When working at night with the electric light, provided by the Port Trust, about 1,500 can be handled in the 24 hours. Two thousand tons of railway material have been discharged in four days without night work. The "Branksome Hall" discharged and loaded 10,000 tons in nine working days and seven nights; this will show what can be done when dispatch is required. There are also several mooring buoys laid down where vessels can load to a depth of 23 feet 6 inches, and two lighterage companies, each with a tug, to carry produce to and from the native jetty." In conclusion he says:—"Mr. Price, the Port Engineer, and his assistant, Mr. Sangster, are doing good work for the improvement of the port, which, I should say, has a great future before it." The "Rufford Hall" of the same line, and of equal tonnage, discharged and loaded 10,982 tons of cargo in June, 1889, and was on her homeward voyage on the morning of the eleventh day from entering the port, and this is claimed by experts, as a proof that a steamer can load and discharge with greater dispatch in Kurrachee than in any other port of India. While the "Rufford Hall" was discharging and loading at the Merewether Pier, five other large steamers were berthed alongside the Erskine Wharf, the first pile of which was screwed in on the 18th January, 1887, in the presence of Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, who named it in honour of the Commissioner in Sind. It is about 2,000 feet in length and, in course of time, will probably be extended to the Native Jetty.

In early days, the Master Attendant was the Conservator of the port; following him came the Harbour Board, which was simply an agent of the Executive Government, and in 1886, an Act was passed under which the Kurrachee Port Trust came into being. To this body all the affairs of the harbour have been handed over, and they are accountable, not only for future expenditure, but they had also to accept liabilities previously created, and to find money for the payment of interest on loans already raised. Part of these loans were taken up by the public, but the Government has considerately made advances at 4½ per cent. per annum, of money which it raises at a much lower rate, but these advances have to be repaid in thirty years. The interest and capital annually repaid are raised by the Port Trust from dues levied on all goods shipped and unloaded at the Erskine Wharf. Consequently

the dues are heavy, and this is, to some extent, the reason why the port is not nearly so much frequented as it ought to be.

Sir Charles Dilke has recently caused a flutter amongst the officials and others connected with the Port, and has excited the anger of Mr. Thomas Lidbetter, formerly Lloyd's Agent at Kurrachee, through his article "The Biluch and Afghan frontier of India" which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* of last March. The paragraph to which the chief exception has been taken is to this effect: "The harbour is, as any other harbour on this coast would be, troublesome, and it is said that the sand which has been dredged out of it, had it not been gradually washed back again, would have sufficed to build up a sort of local Himalayan range. Still *it is a sufficiently good harbour to be thoroughly useful for military purposes.*" The words that I have underlined brought Mr. Lidbetter's wrath to boiling point, and he sent an authoritative denial to the "*Times of India*" of statements which *are devoid of truth, and totally opposed to facts*, throwing at the same time a few stones against *the carelessness and flippancy of this clever writer.* The idea is held in Kurrachee that the clever writer will cringe under the lash of Mr. Lidbetter;—that he will abjectly apologise for his prejudicial assertions, and that, in short, he will sit in sackcloth and ashes. I hardly think that he will do so, and if his remarks upon the port be considered in their entirety, I scarcely see any necessity for his repentance. He tells us that he went out to India to study its "military interests," and he allows that Kurrachee is the inevitable military port of the country, and if he did not take into consideration its commercial aspect, it was simply because, during his visit, he was in the hands of military men, and its mercantile prospects were not sufficiently brought to his notice.

The injustice of the paragraph that has been quoted arises simply from its exaggeration; but hyperbolic expressions are oftentimes produced simply through the extreme vigour and power of the writer. That *sand* has been washed back again is a fact, but that the *whole* of the sand that has been dredged out has returned to the harbour, is a misrepresentation. That the sand dredged out would have gone a long way towards reclaiming portions of the East Back Water is true, but that it would have sufficed to build up a sort of local Himalayan range, is a pardonable hyperbole. *That Kurrachee is a sufficiently good harbour, to be thoroughly useful for military purposes*, is an assertion that must be satisfactory to all those who have taken any part in its improvement; for even the Chamber of Commerce has allowed that those improvements

were undertaken purely on military grounds, and that its interests would probably have been totally disregarded had not warlike necessities forced upon the Imperial Government the obligation of putting it in workable order. Had Sir Charles interpolated the words "and commercial" before "purposes," there might have been a trifling exaggeration in the reading of the sentence, but he would not have brushed anybody's back the wrong way.

I have always a respect for the author of "Greater Britain," arising partly from a feeling of gratitude for his having given us that interesting work, and partly for the negative reason that, although he was a member of the second Gladstonian Administration who seized the opportunity, shortly after they came into power, for upsetting the friendly relations between the native and foreign communities by sending them Lord Ripon as Viceroy, he had not joined the Cabinet when that appointment was made.

Before leaving this portion of the harbour, it may be well to glance again at the two maps, and notice the changes that have been made on the summit of the rocky promontory of Manora.

The fort on the point built of stone by the Amīrs in 1797 was for a long time, adapted to pacific purposes, having been turned into a residence for the Master Attendant; but in 1888 it was removed to allow of the remodelling of Battery No. 1, and quarters have now been provided for the Port Officers, close to the new Lighthouse. The Round Tower, also of stone, has entirely disappeared, the line of the west-groyne passing through the spot on which it formerly stood. In place of these obsolete defences, which, according to Carless, could not have offered any serious opposition to a vessel attempting to enter the harbour, and which would have been quickly reduced to a heap of ruins by a sloop of war, anchored at a proper distance, batteries have been, or are being, constructed in more suitable positions, and fitted with the appliances of modern Artillery and Engineering science.

In front of the site of the old Fort is Battery No. 1; one mile from Manora, on the north-west beach, stands a second, and at one and a half miles further a third, designed especially to protect the lower harbour, as deep water comes close in shore. The three battery sites are joined by railway lines, three and a half miles in length, part of which had been made previously to the construction of the batteries, for purposes of the harbour works. A new battery at Manora, masked from an enemy approaching from the sea, was completed last year; in this the guns are mounted on the Moncrieff system, by which, with the

aid of hydraulic power, they are elevated at the time of firing, the recoil carrying the gun back, under shelter, for reloading. The three main batteries above mentioned, which date from 1878, have recently been remodelled, enlarged, and armed with more powerful artillery. Submarine defences have been established on an ample and efficient scale, and Kurrachee may now be regarded as a Harbour possessing the means of self-defence against any probable naval attack.

Major Otto Wachs, of the Prussian Army, has given the public the benefit of his opinion on the defences of Kurrachee in a recent number of the "Journals of the Royal United Service Institution." He considered it very insufficiently protected by a Hindoo Fort of the last century, which, though armed with heavy English guns, would crumble to pieces before heavy naval guns. He will be glad to learn that great changes have been effected since his visit.

In addition to the preparations that are being made to give a warm reception to any armed opponents, there are on Manora several institutions of a more pacific nature, intended to assist and benefit friendly invaders.

Chief among these are the Lighthouses. At the southern extremity of the Breakwater there is a red one, 46 feet high, and visible at a distance of five miles; and on the Old Fort until recently stood a Light which revolved every two minutes, 154 feet high, and visible during the fair season for 20 nautical miles, and during the South-West Monsoon for 14 miles. This light was of the first order of *dioptric revolving lights*, but it has been found necessary to remove its position 607 yards further back, in order to make room for Battery No. 1, and a new building was erected by the Defence Engineers, and at the same time the Light was made a *fixed dioptric Light* of the first order, visible at a distance of 20 nautical miles. Its exact position is 24° 47′ 37″ North Latitude, and 66° 68′ 6″ East Longitude. This Light was made over to the Port Trust, and displayed for the first time, on the 1st April, 1889. Some little distance back there are several modern buildings: a little Protestant Church, consecrated in 1865, and dedicated to Saint Paul, intended for the crews of vessels frequenting the harbour, as well as for the residents; a library, a billiard-room, and an European and Eurasian school. Lower down, on the western side, there are only the "Coolies lines;" but the centre and eastern sides are well covered with buildings. There are the Lascar and Pilot lines; the large establishment of the Harbour Improvement Works, with quarters, workshops,

Manora Point.

and stores; the harbour station of the Indo-European Telegraph; and further on the Quarantine Station, and the coaling depôt of the British India Steam Navigation Company. On the harbour side there are several piers and landing places, and the boatmen of Kiamāri do an exceedingly good ferrying business between that island and Manora.

Once a year a fair lasting three days is held on the promontory. The festival is movable, generally taking place in the first three months of the year, but sometimes as late as April. It is in honour of a *pīr*, or saint, whose sanctity must have been great, for his memory has survived for many years, and no Hindoo vessel ever enters or leaves the port without depositing a small present on his shrine. His admirers flock from all parts of Sind, and from even more remote distances, to attend the fair, and whilst it lasts the boatmen and *gārī-wālās* of Kurrachee, and the tramway that runs down the Napier Mole, reap a golden harvest. It is reported that a bāzār is to be established on Manora, and that a Battery of Artillery is to be permanently stationed there, changes that will tend greatly to increase the traffic between the Point and Kiamāri.

Occasionally outside of the fair season there is a somewhat similar rush to Manora, as, for instance, on the arrival of the remains of a priest who had died on the passage to the Port, when vast numbers of natives hastened down to perform funereal rites over his body. And during the summer, residents of the town seek for coolness and relaxation in boating and fishing excursions, to the western side of the harbour.

The population in 1838, including the garrison, numbered less than 100. According to the census of 1872 it was found to be 824; and at the present time, as one of the municipal districts of Kurrachee, it contains 1,470 inhabitants.

In discussing the Kurrachee Harbour improvements, reference has, of necessity, been frequently made to the South-West Monsoon, for it is to shelter the "bar" from the heavy seas occasioned by that wind that the chief feature of the whole works, namely, the Breakwater at Manora, is especially directed.

The word *monsoon* is supposed to be a corruption of the Arabic word *mausim*, signifying *a season, a time*, as, for instance, the *mausim-i-bahar-i*, or *season of spring*, and has been adopted by all nautical nations as the name of a peculiar wind, which may be described as blowing from a fixed quarter for six months continuously.

In French we have the same Arabic word in the form *mousson;* in

Spanish it is *monzon;* in Portuguese, *monção,* and so on; and it has been so closely annexed to the last language that the expression "fora de monção," *to no purpose, unseasonably,* is by no means uncommon.

Monsoons are found in several quarters of the globe, but in no sea do they blow with such regularity, nor are they so well established, as in the Indian Ocean, and especially in that part of it lying north of the Equator.

The more northerly part of the Indian Ocean is the Arabian Sea, and Kurrachee is situated nearly at its apex. A short account, therefore, of this typical wind will not be out of place, and may be interpolated without straying far away from the main purpose of this work.

I am the more tempted to deviate slightly from the beaten track, because I am inclined to think that many people who have never experienced the rapture of welcoming the first puff of the South-West Monsoon on the hot plains of Sind, but with whom at a certain season of the year its name is an household word, know very little concerning the wind, beyond *that* name.

Every English merchant having correspondents in Bombay; every family with relatives in that Presidency and its adjacent Provinces; every schoolboy separated from his parents, and sent home for education; every recipient, in short, of letters reaching this country in the first week of June, will see on the face of them that they were posted at Bombay three days earlier than usual—namely, on Tuesday instead of on Friday, which, for eight months of the year, is the day fixed for the departure of the homeward mail—and one and all will easily account for the advance of the usual time by the fact, that the "Monsoon has set in;" but I am not convinced that they would all be able to give an explanation of the reason "how" and "why" the Monsoon has caused this change.

Of course the merchant can account for it, and families and many other recipients have private and public libraries to which they can resort should they desire information; but the schoolboy of an inquiring nature will find some difficulty in satisfying his curiosity.

Physical geography is not a subject to which much attention is given in the early stages of education. Time is too fully occupied with classics and mathematics.

The classical master could undoubtedly enlighten him as to the course of "Euroclydon," of the "Plumbeno Auster," and of other winds of the Mediterranean, but his information would hardly extend to the

Arabian Sea. The mathematical master should know something of the winds and their effects, but he does not appear to have compressed his knowledge into a simple and readable form, and to tell the truth treatises on the "Courses of the Winds" are somewhat dull and abstruse.

From them I have, however, culled a few facts about the south-west monsoon, in its relation to the northern part of the Indian Ocean, to which region I shall confine my remarks, and these I propose to adapt to the schoolboy intellect, and to my own.

If we seek for the primary source of *wind* considerable difficulty will have to be encountered before it will be discovered; *wind*, we are told, is "air in perceptible motion," and on turning to "air" we are further informed that it is "the fluid we breath," the "atmosphere," and also that it is "a light breeze or wind," which last definition brings us back to our starting point. Perhaps, therefore, it will be better not to institute too close an inquiry into the origin of *wind*, but to accept as a basis of argument the declaration of the Royal Psalmist: "*He bringeth the wind out of his treasuries*," for although we may learn a good deal about a wind in its very early days, yet it would be difficult to say, when or how it first became instilled with life. We can fix pretty accurately the region from which our monsoon issues, and we can give a reason for its having left its birth-place, or rather we can show the inducement that caused it to forsake its home, and we can trace its course through life, but I am not aware that science has yet explained, in a manner suited to an understanding of mediocre capacity, how it first came into being.

It may be stated generally that there is a belt round the equator, to the edges of which the winds from the north and south poles are constantly blowing.

They start from a long distance apart, like two old rams, rival monarchs of the sheep-fold, about to engage in mortal combat, so far apart, indeed, that when, after running a long course, they approach one another with a view to the final butt or collision, their strength is exhausted and they stand looking at one another sheepishly, with a neutral space between them.

This neutral area, as regards the winds—not the sheep—is called "The region of the equatorial calms," and it is here that the south-west monsoon takes its rise.

The principle that is supposed to explain the origin of the monsoon, and of other similar winds is this:—"When two neighbouring

regions are at different temperatures, a current of air flows from the warmer to the colder in the upper strata of the atmosphere; and in the lower strata a current flows from the colder to the warmer,"* and of this principle the celebrated American Philosopher, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, is said to have given the first practical illustration by means of a simple experiment, which any schoolboy can try.

On a fairly calm evening, say in early spring, when the interior of a house is still warmed by fires, and the outside air is brisk, let him throw the upper and lower sashes of the window into the middle of the frame-work. Place one lighted candle on the top of the sashes and another on the window-ledge, and he will find that the flame of the upper one is drawn *outside* into the open air, and that that of the lower one inclines *inwards*, to the warm atmosphere of the room.

Why they should take diametrically opposite directions is not easy to understand, unless we credit them with a good deal of common sense. The upper part of a room, especially if it be illuminated by London gas, becomes exceedingly hot, and it may be that the top flame, for its own comfort, seeks the cooler air; the temperature nearer to the floor is not uncomfortably warm, and consequently the flame does not care to leave it But while this is merely matter of conjecture, the principle itself is well founded, and is supported by the results of the experiment adduced to illustrate it.

The land-breeze and the sea-breeze, which are well known to all residents at the sea-side, are supposed to result from the application of this principle.

During the day the land grows warmer than the water, and the wind represented by the lower flame, of our experiment, blows towards it; at night both land and sea grow colder, but the former more rapidly than the latter, and the wind, that is to say the upper flame, is drawn towards it.

This same cause, whatever it may be, which on a small scale produces the daily change of wind to and from the land, is said also to produce, on a larger scale, the annual alternations of monsoons in the Indian Ocean; is said to be the reason why, from April to October, when the surface of all the countries of India is hot, the wind blows in that direction, while for the other six months of winter, during the south declination of the sun, the sea is warmer, and the contrary wind, the north-east monsoon, prevails.

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* Deschanel's Natural Philosophy.

With the principle I am in accord, and the facts regarding the winds' courses are indisputable, but, subject to better judgment, I differ as to some points of detail.

If it be that the south-west monsoon is drawn or attracted from the equator by the hot surface of Hindūstān, then it would seem to follow that the nearer it approached to that country, the greater would be its strength, but this is not the case, for the strongest line of the monsoon is remote from India, and much nearer to the coasts of Africa and Arabia.

In an earlier part of this work reference has been made to the formation of sand-banks and sand-hills, and it has been pointed out that of necessity, there must be for their creation some *obstacle* around which the sand can accumulate. So, in my belief, is the case with the wind. It is from meeting with obstacles and opposition on its course, that a wind gathers strength. A ship in mid-ocean may form such an obstacle; the wind following in her wake, catches her up, tosses her about, gathers renewed vitality, and then out-races her, leaving a comparative lull behind. An island or a rock serves the same purpose; call to mind how many there are on the surface of the waters, half hidden from the keen sight even of an experienced mariner, where the waves, lashed by the winds, seem to experience a brutal joy in striking their blows harder and harder in proportion as the wind gathers strength!

It has already been admitted that we cannot tell how the first gentle breath of the south-west monsoon has been generated, but we know that that first breath is drawn on the east coast of Africa, between five degrees south of the equator, and five degrees of north latitude. Within this region lie several groups of islands, for instance, the Seychelles and the Chagos, and a little more northerly we find the Maldives and the Laccadives. It is among these peaceful isles, where storms and crimes are very rare, that the childhood of the monsoon is passed; it is here that it receives its earliest sustenance; as yet it has not dreamed of a long flight to the Indies, but it plays about the islands, it is drawn from one to another, it gathers strength among them, and at length it is attracted to the mainland. When it strikes away, it spreads fan-like, the left or western edge being directed towards Socotra, off which island it arrives at maturity, while the right or eastern edge seeks the coast of southern India, curls up into the Bay of Bengal, wanders along the coast of China, and is said to shed its influence so far as the Mariana or Ladrone Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

But this is beyond our beat. *Our* wind turns northward before it

reaches Cape Comorin, and travels up the west coast of India, inclining always towards the land, and making the journey leisurely, for it is off Comorin, towards the end of April, but does not reach Bombay until nearly a month later.

The *zone* of the south-west monsoon, that is to say the area that it embraces in the Arabian Sea, has been referred to as being fan-like in shape, but it may, with greater truth, be compared to a peacock's feather of which the black spot represents a vast expanse of water, of an elliptical form "where the sky is cloudless, the wind light, the water smooth, and squalls seldom happen,"* and which is situated nearly in the middle of the zone. To this quiet sea in the midst of troubled waters is to be assigned one of the chief causes of the departure of the mail from Bombay, during the monsoon, three days before its usual time.

The direct route from that port to Aden passes almost half-way between Cape Fartak on the coast of Arabia and the Island of Socotra, but this route is directly in the teeth of the south-west monsoon, and crosses the line of its greatest strength. Under such circumstances, and with the class of steamers in use 25 or 30 years ago, the voyage was made under difficulties, and not only was there a good deal of delay consequent on having to steam the whole distance against a head-sea, but the passage was rendered unnecessarily uncomfortable to the homeward-bound travellers.

To avoid these inconveniences, navigators sought for a course by following which they might escape the full strength of the monsoon, and generally selected one going south, one of the chief inducements being the quiet sea that has been mentioned. According to a chart compiled by Lieutenant Turner, of the Indian Navy, in 1864, from the logs of 100 vessels, most of these came as far south as the seventh degree of north latitude, and then bore up for Cape Guardafui, the easterly point of Africa, entering the Gulf of Aden between that point and Socotra, instead of between this island and the Arabian coast. Sometimes, and with the same object of "rounding" the monsoon, a northerly course was selected, and a vessel was steered above the 20th degree north, before inclining towards the Arabian coast, which it would generally make off Kuria Muria Bay.

By adopting these routes the discomfort of the voyage was diminished, and the wear and tear of the engines were considerably

* Lieut. A. D. Taylor, I.N.

reduced, but there was no saving of time, for although the seas that had to be encountered were less heavy, the course was longer, and in order to maintain the due dates of home arrival, the mail was despatched three days earlier from Bombay, that is to say that it left on the Tuesday instead of on the Friday, during the season of the south-west monsoon.

With steamers of the enormous capacity and great horse-power that are now employed for the conveyance of the mails, the force of the winds and the fierceness of the waves are no longer causes for deviating from the direct course, and monsoon or no monsoon, the Packet is driven in a straight line from Bombay to Aden, but the time allowance which was formerly conceded as a necessity, is still continued as a matter of grace.

As regards Kurrachee no such concession has ever been requisite, for the reason that the route, from that port to Aden, is situated outside of the zone of the south-west monsoon. Its waves break upon the harbour with great force, but a vessel can leave at any time, and by bearing westwards away from the line of the wind's greatest strength, its effects are only felt to a slight extent.

Either going or coming, the weather is much more favourable during the monsoons, between Kurrachee and Aden, than between the latter port and Bombay, and it has been already mentioned that the distance is less by 200 miles ; advantages which all tend to increase the value and importance of the more modern port.

CHAPTER VI.

KIAMĀRI AND THE RAILWAY.

"THE late Sir Charles Napier predicted that the town of Kurrachee would in time be removed to Kiamāri, and that the new town and shipping should be supplied with water, by pipes laid along the mole from the Lyaree river ; and he went so far as to draw a plan in which the quays and streets of the new town were projected."

His intentions as to the formation of a military station, and the building of barracks were fixed ; his views as to the improvement of the harbour, and the rendering it capable of the admittance of large vessels were general ; and he rightly imagined that if shipping could be brought to the port, shipping interests would also be attracted to it.

But when the General spoke of removing the town, he referred to the town that had sprung up during his administration ; to the surroundings that had been added to the native city, consequent on the arrival of troops, and of the sutlers and traders who followed in their wake ; and for all such surroundings probably in his time there would have been ample room on the island, but he could not foresee that independently of the station and cantonments, an important commercial centre would be created in a very short space of time, with all those institutions, such as shops, shipping offices, stores, warehouses, and banks, which are necessities of trade ; with jails, hospitals, mission houses, lecture halls, and churches, which are adjuncts of European civilization ; with telegraphic stations to promote intercourse between the mother-country and India, and with the terminus of a grand trunk railway system, which must always play an important part in the defence of the Empire.

To remove such a town, covering an area of 3,000 acres, exclusive of the cantonments, and deposit it on an island the extent of which does not exceed 380 ; to compress a population which has increased five-fold

since the Conqueror of Sind took his final departure from the spot where an obelisk commemorates his leave-taking, into a space which would not admit of their standing shoulder to shoulder, would be a feat unsurpassed by his march on the desert fort of Imāmghār. And yet the prediction of Sir Charles Napier is in course of fulfilment, not to the extent that he had imagined, nor with the rapidity that a new town at Kiamāri might have been built, had he remained for a longer period at the head of the administration in Sind, or been succeeded by Commissioners with the same powers that he possessed. It is not in evidence that his suggestion was ever laid officially before the Government of Bombay, but at least one Governor of that Presidency was well acquainted with all his plans. This was the late Sir Bartle Frere, who, in a letter dated the 14th October, 1856, addressed to Mr James Walker, writes as follows: "The very first things he (Sir Charles Napier) began to talk to me about when we met in Sind were his plans for the mole, and for the improvement of the harbour, which he explained at great length," and further on he expresses his hope that Mr. Walker will have time to see Colonel McMurdo, and explain his views, as he is a very able officer, and deeply interested in all that concerns Sind.

The paragraph which commences the present chapter is extracted from a letter written by this very Colonel McMurdo, only a few days after the one just mentioned, as having been addressed to the same Mr. Walker. It may therefore be taken for granted that as Sir Bartle, and the Colonel were both in the confidence of Sir Charles and were intimate with one another, the former also knew of the General's intentions with regard to a new town at Kiamāri.

The energy displayed by Mr. Frere as Commissioner in Sind for nearly nine years is unquestionable, and the services that he rendered to Kurrachee by furthering improvements in the town and harbour are undoubted; but neither did Mr. Frere, his predecessor, nor his successors in the administration of the Province, possess the power of diverging from the beaten track that was marked out by the Public Works Department of Bombay, and, as has been already stated, their efforts were frequently hampered through scarcity of funds.

When Sir Bartle Frere became Governor of the Presidency, his power and influence naturally increased, but at that time the innovations and changes which had been effected in the administration of India after the Mutiny of 1857 were in full swing. The "Kumpani Bahadūr" had received its death-blow; Her Majesty had assumed the government, and

had appointed her Secretary of State, with a Council to advise him: high officials in India, both civil and military were looked upon as monitors and upper-form boys, who through negligence and want of foresight, had allowed the lower classes to get for a time the upper hand, and permitted the total collapse of all discipline. They had behaved, however, so extremely well in suppressing the barring-out, that most of them were pardoned and reinstated, but their powers were curtailed, and they were prohibited from taking any action, beyond the daily routine, without superior sanction.

Before rolling the cricket-ground they must for the future obtain the permission of the head-master. Matters of detail which a Governor of Bombay would formerly have decided on his own authority had now to be referred to Calcutta and Whitehall, and consequently Sir Bartle's opportunities for following the course, that Sir Charles Napier had wished to see adopted, were very few. His support of Mr. Walker's plans was by no means welcomed, and towards the end of his administration, the improvement works on the harbour were completely suspended by order of the Secretary of State.

If at this time the Public Works Committee of the Indian Council had any plan, which appears very doubtful, it was simply that of "*Scour! Scour! Dredge! Dredge!* Give us sufficient depth of water for a troop-ship to enter, and that is all we require." So far as it went this plan was undoubtedly in the right direction, and it is clear that it would have been useless to erect piers and wharves at Kiamāri, and cranes for the discharge of their cargoes, until the depth of water in the harbour should permit the approach of vessels, and allow them to be moored alongside, for unloading.

But it is not so clear why two operations could not have been carried on at the same time; why preparations could not have been made for rendering Kiamāri capable of meeting all the requirements of shipping on a large scale, while the channel was being deepened. It is not sufficient to berth a ship alongside a wharf; it is necessary also to have warehouses and stores in which to deposit her cargo, and means by which that cargo can be easily conveyed to the markets to which it has been consigned, and to fulfil these conditions space and solid foundations are absolutely requisite.

But as regards these points the Public Works Department does not appear to have held any fixed ideas until a very recent date. They simply allowed matters to "jog on." Millions of cubic feet of earth were

excavated from both sides of the Napier Mole; the Municipality and the Government Commissariat utilized a small portion of this mass of material, for filling in low ground on the town side; private individuals *purchased* another portion for making an embankment on which to establish the Cotton Presses; but the Government's requirements only amounted to about 330 tons, or, say, 7,000 cubic feet of ballast, and this was the whole quantity used in the reclamation of land at Kiamāri. The residue, together with the dredgings from the bar, were shipped off and discharged in the bight to the eastward of the Oyster Rocks.

The Sind Railway was allowed to wander at its own sweet will. At first it ran down the Napier Mole, but the passage by this route was only a temporary measure, the design being that it should bisect the marsh east of the Mole. This design was also given up, and when, after many changes and fluctuations of opinion as to whether it was advisable to admit the waters of the Chinna Creek into the upper harbour, or to retain the obstruction made by the embankment at the northern end of the mole, the latter course was at length adopted, and it was resolved to provide railway communication with Kiamāri by means of a diversion *round* the marsh, crossing the creek at its mouth, a line which still exists. But before this decision was arrived at, the question was raised whether it would not be advisable to preserve the existing connection between the mainland and the island by means of the Napier Mole, even though it might be necessary to build a bridge. This was decided in the negative, because of the difficulty and expense. "Such a bridge would require girders of considerable span, and the arrangement would prolong for at least four or five years the occupation by the railway line of a portion of the Napier Mole, which is so much required for general traffic." In 1867 when the Report, from which the above passage is an extract, was written, Government had no interest in the railway; twenty years later it was the property of the State, and the design then foreshadowed was carried out on a still more expensive scale.

From 1860, when the works were really commenced, until 1882, when the Merewether Pier was completed, the whole history of Harbour improvements is one of indecision and fickleness of purpose. Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Governors, Commissioners and Engineers, both military and civil, are constantly at loggerheads, tendering conflicting opinions, giving contradictory orders, and upsetting one another's plans.

In a memorandum dated the 31st of May, 1864, the Commissioner

in Sind makes the following condemnatory statement:—"The works already constructed have cost £238,000, and the harbour has very much deteriorated *in consequence*," and Her Majesty's Secretary of State in a dispatch dated the 17th of April, 1866, after receiving a new opinion "altogether unfavourable to the principles, as well as to the details of Mr. Walker's designs," which, it may be mentioned, were those from which the Government of Bombay had repeatedly ordered that no departure should be made, informs the Government of India that "the large expenditure, amounting certainly to not less than a quarter of a million, which has, during the last few years, been incurred on account of the Kurrachee Harbour works, has been little better than wasted," and that in consequence he sends instructions "at once to stop all operations not absolutely necessary, to give stability to the portions of work already done." The works *were* stopped, and when they were resumed in 1868, it was found that the postponement of the construction of the breakwater, designed by Mr. Walker and approved by a majority, even of his opponents, had directly checked the development of benefit from other works, and eventually led to greatly increased cost. During the next ten years there was comparative peace; scouring and dredging were carried on to the satisfaction of the Public Works Department without entailing any extraordinary expenditure on the Imperial purse, for during that period a local fund had been formed to meet the expenses of working the port, and the "Wharfage Fees" Act had been put in force.

On the 24th November, 1880, the first stone of the first pier for a large vessel was laid at Kiamāri, by the Marquis of Ripon, K.G., then Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The work was projected in 1873, by Mr. Price, the Port Engineer, and was strongly recommended to the Governments of Bombay and of India, by the late Major-General Sir William L. Merewether, K.C.S.I., and C.B., at that time Commissioner in Sind, but what are called "circumstances" delayed its commencement for seven years.

A beginning was, however, made, as stated in 1880, and with the consent of the late Commissioner, Mr. H. N. B. Erskine, C.S.I., it was called after his predecessor the "Merewether Pier." It had been first proposed to construct it as part of the harbour improvements, but that project did not receive official sanction; then it was thought that it would be executed as a railway work, but the Railway Company did not make it, and at length it was undertaken by the Kurrachee Harbour

Board. The discovery that vessels drawing 23 to 24 feet of water could discharge and load at this fine pier at all times of the tide, had some effect even on the Public Works Department. It was satisfactorily proved that the "jog-trot" and "do-nothing" system had been most successful. Although the work had been frequently delayed through official blundering; although a quarter of a million "had been little better than wasted," yet after twenty years' work it had come about that a troop-ship could disembark her living freight at the nearest Indian port to the mother country, without a single break in the entire journey from England.

What less could the Government do than pat the Harbour Board on the back? This was done metaphorically, and it was encouraged to make further efforts in the direction of supplying greater wharfage accommodation. To do this it was necessary to reclaim land westward of the Napier Mole, and to the north of the New Pier, and so henceforth native boats no longer carried down dredgings from the New Channel for deposit off the Oyster Rocks, but every load was utilized in forming an embankment between Kiamāri and the Sind Cotton Presses, and even the railway was pressed into the service, to bring down ballast.

A company had been registered in London, in March, 1855, under the name or style of "The Scinde Railway Company," and was incorporated by Act of Parliament in July of the same year. Its purpose was that "of acquiring and holding lands in the East Indies, and of making one or more railway, or railways, in India, and in particular, and in the first instance, a railway to commence at or near the seaport of Kurrachee, and to proceed to a point at or near Hydrabad, both in the Province of Scinde."

The length of line was little over 100 miles, and consequently the undertaking at its outset, did not appear to be of great importance as compared with railways already constructed, and in course of construction, in other parts of India, and at home. Two years later, however, that Act was repealed, and a new one (August, 1857) was passed, empowering the company to make and maintain, in addition to the Scinde railway, a railway in the Punjaub Territory, from Mooltan to Lahore and Umritsir, called "the Punjaub railway," and also for establishing and maintaining communication on the River Indus between Hydrabad and Mooltan, by means of steam boats, called the "Indus Steam Flotilla."

"The Scinde railway" grew in course of time into "The Sind,

Punjaub and Delhi Railway," and its length increased from 100 to nearly 700 miles.

The Indus Valley Railway took the place of the "Indus Steam Flotilla," and communication has now been established from Kurrachee to Delhi on the standard gauge, and without a break for the entire length of 1,169 miles, the last connecting-link, the bridge over the Indus at Sukkur, having been completed in March, 1889.

To this main line others had been added, as for example the Punjaub Northern, and Sind Sagar, and the Sind Pishin Railways, and at the end of 1885 the system which has its base at Kurrachee, had a total length of 1790 miles.

The Secretary of State in Council had the power of taking over the Sind, Punjaub, and Delhi Railway by purchase, on giving one year's notice to the proprietors, and in 1885, the first year in which he could do so, he exercised that power, and the railway became the property of the State on the 1st January, 1886.

With it were amalgamated the lines that have been already mentioned, and some branches connected with them, and the whole system was named "The North-Western Railway." The proprietors made some demur on questions of detail, but the business was in the end satisfactorily arranged, and the only persons who had any cause of complaint were the unfortunate officials of the old company, who after many years of service, were turned adrift to look for new employment.

There can be no doubt that H.M. Secretary of State acted wisely in exercising the powers that he possessed, on the very first opportunity that was afforded to him; there can be no question that a great frontier line like the North-Western Railway of India ought to be a State institution; and it may be unhesitatingly stated that however much the old proprietors may have grumbled at the Government's appropriation, they are undoubtedly the gainers.

The action of our European neighbours on the northern frontier has been the cause of frequent anxiety and uneasiness, but it has never yet taken a decided form; it has neither demanded the concentration of troops to any great extent, nor the collection of military stores in large quantities. When this demand arises it will be found that the carrying powers of a single line of railway will barely suffice to meet it, and that the transport of goods for purposes of commerce will have to be deferred until the crisis shall have passed. In such an event the interest of a company must become subservient to what are called "Imperial necessi-

ties," and probably the railway would have been not only appropriated, but expropriated, at least for a season.

In time of war the Government, of necessity, must have taken possession of the line, and the sources from which the company derived its income would to a great extent have been cut off; as matters now stand, annuitants will continue to receive their dividends whatever may happen, and the loss arising from a state of war will fall not on a single corporation, but on the community in general.

In November, 1885, that is to say shortly before the date on which the Sind, Punjaub, and Delhi Railway changed hands, Kurrachee received a visit from several notabilities of the supreme Government of Calcutta, among whom were two members of the Council of the Governor General, namely, the Commander-in-Chief and the Honourable Theodore C. Hope (now Sir Theodore Hope, K.C.S.I.), Public Works Members, and Colonel (now Major-General) Wm. S. Trevor, V.C., R.E., Secretary in the Public Works Department.

Mr. Hope was very favourably disposed towards the port, and not only expressed his willingness to recommend the removal of Deep Water Point, and the extension of the Eastern Groyne, as he was requested to do, but furthermore arranged with the railway authorities that lines along the Napier Mole should be taken in hand at once, instead of being deferred until the Wharfage between Kiamāri and the Cotton Presses, should be completed in its entire length.

The approbation and sanction of Mr. Hope's recommendations came in due course, not hurriedly, but just at the very moment when State administration was promoted, *vice* the English Railway Company retired.

And it is marvellous to note how the Supreme Government, and its subordinate, that of Bombay, with their respective Public Works Departments, then awoke to a sense of duty towards the western port of the Empire, and to the desirability of fostering it.

As a result of the visit to Kurrachee of the high officials already mentioned, the Government of India proceeded to sanction the grant of loans to the extent of 15½ lakhs of Rupees for extending the ship wharfage, and for extra deepening of the entrance channel by two feet; made a free grant of 2½ lakhs for the removal of Deep Water Point and of another lakh for the curved extension of East Pier, at the end of the "Groyne;" and undertook to make, at its own cost, a line of railway from Kurrachee to Kiamāri parallel to the Napier Mole.

It was not long before the whole project leaked out, and the intentions of Government became fully known to the public. The official plan explains fully that project. It shows the new line of railway; the wharves on which it is to run; the stores and warehouses for goods, and the land that may be reclaimed. That project when carried out will be the fulfilment of Sir Charles Napier's prediction, the removal of Kurrachee, so far at least as regards its shipping business, to Kiamāri, and the creation of a new town upon that island.

It would be a source of great contentment to the subjects of any Government, could they be satisfied that the authorities had calculated and foreseen, the changes and innovations which might take place in the course of a few months. *That* feeling would be greatly increased could the public at home believe that a distant dependency, like that of India, was administered by officials who possessed such powers of foresight and calculation, and the pleasure would be consummated if the period could be extended from months to years.

As already stated the Scinde Punjaub and Delhi Railway became the property of the State in January, 1886, and on the 6th of March of that same year the first of Her Majesty's ships that ever transferred troops directly from her decks to the island of Kiamāri, was hauled alongside the Merewether Pier. This, as already stated, was the Indian Troopship *Euphrates*.

Such a coincidence is remarkable and has led me to a careful consideration as to whether I may not have erred grievously in criticising, in an unfavourable manner, the course of action towards Kurrachee, that the Government has pursued for many years.

Instead of being inert and dilatory, is it possible that the Public Works Department was accurately measuring its time, and waiting its opportunities? Of course that department was well aware of the date on which the Secretary of State could exercise the power of taking over the railway, and it is possible that for a quarter of a century it was carefully calculating the amount of labour that should be annually expended on the harbour, so that it should be in a condition to admit a troopship at a date identical with that of the transfer of the railway.

Perhaps at one time the works had advanced too quickly, and it became necessary to retard them. This was done by suspending them entirely on one occasion for two years, and on others by reducing the amount to be executed. Perhaps too it was premature to commence the reclamation of land at Kiamāri, although millions of cubic feet of earth

were being excavated alongside of the Napier Mole, and shipped off to the Oyster Rocks; and it may also have been that the construction of a pier at the time when it was recommended did not fit in well with the calculations of the department, and therefore, it was deferred until the latest possible moment. If these things be so; if the Government of India for some twenty-five years, during which, in the opinion of many people, it seemed to be slumbering, was really sleeping with one eye open, and with that one eye was closely watching every phase and change in the formation of the harbour; if the counter opinions, the recriminations, and the contradictory orders, which are found on every other page of the "Correspondence on the Kurrachee Harbour Works," form a part of the same comedy; then I confess that the Government has shown those powers of foresight and calculation which are so much to be desired, and is deserving of the highest credit and the fullest confidence.

But—and it is a very big "but"—if we adopt this favourable view of departmental procedure, we must also accept another statement as forming part of the same comedy, or we must consider it merely a "façon de parler," an expression not to be taken too literally: this refers to the expenditure incurred to the extent of about a quarter of a million sterling, which, in the opinion of a Commissioner in Sind, had brought about great deterioration in the Harbour, and had, according to one of H.M. Secretaries of State, been little better than wasted.

It is quite possible that a Government may waste large sums of money, and undoubtedly this does sometimes occur; there are not wanting cavillers who state that some millions expended in a late expedition to Egypt might just as well have been sunken in the Nile; but I am not aware that the Government in power at that time, made any public confession of its having wasted the national funds, and undoubtedly such a confession, in the records of Governments, is extremely rare.

I am much afraid, therefore, that when the Secretary of State and his subordinate, the Commissioner-in-Sind, made "a clean breast of it," and acknowledged that great wealth had been uselessly—worse than uselessly—injuriously expended, they spoke, not in the spirit of comedy, but with all seriousness, and I am reluctantly obliged to admit, that my earnest endeavour to credit the Government of India with exceptional prescience and forethought, has proved unsuccessful. It must, however, be conceded that they were favoured by fortune, and that by a happy

"fluke" the annexation of the railway, and the facile admission of a large troopship into the harbour, were brought about nearly at the same moment.

It is useless crying over spilt milk; it is a waste of time to inquire whether the works could have been carried out with greater expedition and at less expense, and it is to be hoped that no fussy Member of the House will address a question to the Under Secretary of State for India, regarding the quarter of a million said to have been wasted upwards of twenty years ago.

The port is there, the nearest port in India to the mother-country, and one capable of admitting, at all times and in all seasons, any vessel that can pass through the Suez Canal. More than that the port has been constructed, with some slight changes of detail, in accordance with the very plans and reports that the late Mr. Walker submitted thirty years ago; plans and reports that raised a storm of opposition; that at times have been held to be completely erroneous, and have been thrown on one side, but that nevertheless are those in accordance with which the harbour of Kurrachee has been formed.

When that Harbour shall come to be recognised not only as the nearest port in India, not only as the most important one on the western coast, but as the first and chief port of the Indian Empire, then let a grateful public raise on the most prominent point of Kiamāri, as a companion to the obelisk that stands upon the mole, a monument to the memory of the Engineer, who put into shape the project for the advancement of Kurrachee, which the conqueror of Sind initiated.

The substantial part of the works is completed;—the heaviest portion is finished;—there will be employment for dredgers constantly, and mining operations for the total removal of Deep Water Point must be continued, and the "Erskine Wharf," 2,000 feet in length, affording accommodation for five ships of the largest size, the greatest part of which is already constructed, has yet to be completed. But these are matters of detail regarding which there will be no occasion for altercations and squabbling; and in the present humour of the Public Works Department, there is no doubt that funds will be forthcoming, even should it be considered necessary to extend the Manora breakwater, the desirability of which has been already mooted.

The railway occupies a good deal of space on Kiamāri; formerly it had one small mole called the Railway Pier, at which stores and, materials were discharged; but it now runs on to the Merewether Pier,

and also circles round the edge of the island, crossing the Napier mole close to a small dock which has now to be converted to other purposes. Thence it passes over a causeway with several cuttings, until it turns landwards and recrosses the mole close to the Sind Cotton Presses. In connection with the railway there are numerous offices and warehouses which are now being widely extended, and there are also quarters for a Pier Master and his assistant, the Telegraph and the Sea Post Offices, a Police *Chaukee*, a drinking bar, dignified with the title of Hotel, a Church, a native village, and a hospital in course of construction.

The visitor at the present time meets with few of those difficulties which had to be encountered by new arrivals, in the early days of the British occupation. On landing he will find bullock-carts for his baggage, and a carriage for himself. The carts with their heavy wooden wheels, and their convex tops, the whole bound together with thongs of raw hide, are ungraceful in appearance, but well adapted to the commerce of the town, and to the carriage of bags of grain, or barrels of sugar and rice. The carriages are of the description called "landaus," generally they are well worn, dirty, and poorly horsed, but they are furnished with cushions on which to recline, ornamented with the gold or silver braiding of Cutch, and the *Gārī-wālās*, although not too clean in person, make attempts to adorn themselves with coloured turbans, and showy waistbands.

The two men who sat on the box of a carriage that I employed for some time, were remarkably gaudy in the colour of their girdles. One of these was scarlet, and the other navy blue, and both were ornamented with inscriptions printed in letters of gold. These inscriptions puzzled me greatly, as I was unable to decide in what language they were written, but finding that the writing was upside down, I induced the men to take off their belts and allow me to examine them, and I then found that they were formed of the ends or selvedges, of pieces of home-made flannel, on one of which was printed in large letters, "*Warranted not to shrink*," and on the other "*Guaranteed fast colours*."

If the traveller should not object to mix with the dusky fellow subjects whom he will meet on landing, there is at hand another and cheaper means of conveyance, namely, the cars of a company, bearing the imposing title of "The East India Tramways Company, Limited."

At one time the Company appeared to emulate the great railway bearing a similar title, for its trains, drawn by locomotives, passed

through the streets, with the noise and clatter of an express, greatly to the annoyance of the residents; and under the control of careless and unskilful drivers, sometimes dashed down the Napier mole at a speed that placed in imminent peril, not only the many beasts of burden encountered on that narrow road, but also the lives of the individuals using, or conducting them. Horses have now been substituted for the noisy steam engines, much to the comfort of the population, and also of the passengers. The light cars in use, drawn by a single horse, small but well up to his work, glide smoothly along without any din, and with very little shaking.

The undertaking formed with English capital commenced to work in 1885, and at the outset met with considerable opposition. Carriage-people did not like it, for they dreaded the imperilling of their wheels on the tramway rails; and the frightening of their horses on meeting with the locomotives; hackney-carriage owners were opposed to it, as they foresaw that it must have the effect of reducing their somewhat exorbitant fares; and the cartmen made war against it because it threatened to carry goods with much greater facility, and at cheaper rates than they could do.

But it appears to have now settled down as an institution of Kurrachee, and to have overcome to a great extent the feeling of dislike at first exhibited towards it.

The better classes are content now that the danger of the locomotives has been removed, and that their noise has ceased; the cartmen have found that the tramway is no longer to be feared as a rival in the carriage of goods, for that traffic will be completely monopolized by the railway extension to Kiamāri; and the only people who have really suffered are the hackney-carriage owners and drivers, whose fares have been reduced, and whose numbers have been considerably decreased as proved by the diminished yield of the tax on vehicles, which is ascribed by the Municipality to the introduction of the Tramways.

But whatever conveyance the visitor may select, to reach the mainland he must proceed by the Napier Mole Road.

It traverses the north-easterly part of the island of Kiamāri for a distance of 650 yards, passing across the railway at a level crossing, and then enters on the mole itself, a causeway less than 40 feet in breadth, with a hand-rail on both sides. At low tide the aspect is not pleasing, on either hand is a mud swamp; that to the right is thickly covered with mangrove bushes, but on the left it extends perfectly bare

down to the water of the new channel. Half-way up the mole is another level railway crossing. This has only recently been finished and the results of working it have not yet been seen. The traffic along the road up to the present time has not been of any great moment, all heavy goods having been conveyed by the eastern route of the railway, or by lighters to the Native Jetty: but with the extension of wharfage on the western flank of Kiamāri, there will probably arise a traffic by bullock-carts of some importance, and even now on certain occasions the mole is thickly thronged.

Take, for instance, a spring day towards the end of March, or the beginning of April, when a motley crowd is trooping down to the fair at Manora. To a majority of the native inhabitants of Kurrachee, who turn out on that occasion, are added innumerable towns-folk, and country people from outside, many of whom have travelled long distances in order to attend the annual festival. Some take boat at the Native Jetty, but the greater portion travel by road, on foot, on camel-back on *tatoos*, on donkeys, or by the tramway; in bullock-carts, with two or four wheels, covered and uncovered; in carriages of all sorts and descriptions, landaus, buggies, dog-carts, *tum-tums*, *ekkas*, and *shigrams*, vehicles, many of which appear at this season, but are never seen at other times; and then imagine the whole crowd suddenly brought to a halt on the narrow causeway by the closure of the gates, because a North-western train is about to cross the road, *en route* to Kiamāri. Into the very middle of the mass comes a tram-car, not noisily or obtrusively, but still claiming the use of its own rails, and the monopoly of the way; and there human beings and animals have to remain, with the wooden bars closed in front of them, waiting for the passage of the steam-horse and its train. The creaking of the cart wheels has ceased, but this only renders the vociferations and swearing of the bullock-drivers still more distinct, and the everlasting groaning and grumbling of the camels is more clearly heard than ever, and then passes the train with all its noise and clatter, close under the noses of the half-tamed creatures, watching for it with excited curiosity. Would it be a cause for surprise if a camel changes its usual grumble into an ear-breaking scream; if it should turn and try to bolt; if in its fear it should use its powerful jaws, and still more powerful hind legs; if a donkey, no bigger than a Rambouillet ram, should jam itself under a vehicle; if a pair of horses should become restive and overturn a carriage; and if in the *mêlée* one or more of the crowd should be trodden upon, wounded or

perhaps killed. This, I allow, is simply a sketch of what may occur on an extraordinary occasion, but even on ordinary days considerable risk is attached to a railway, crossing a main road in two different places, over which the tram-cars pass upwards of 200 times in every twenty-four hours, and it will be necessary to adopt stringent precautions, if accidents and collisions are to be avoided. Quite recently in Michigan, U.S.A., a tramcar was crossing a railway line when an engine ran into it, and dashed it to pieces, causing the death of six women and wounding other passengers.

A little above the second crossing and to the left of the main road, close to the old Cotton Press, stands the obelisk, erected in 1853, to the memory of the late Sir Charles Napier, and bearing the inscription :

FROM THIS SPOT
On the 1st October, 1847, was fired
the FAREWELL SALUTE
To his Excellency Lt.-Genl.
SIR CHAS. NAPIER, G.C.B.,
On his retirement
from the Governorship
of Sind, being the
extreme point
to which at that date
WHEEL CARRIAGES
had ever passed
along this BUNDER, a
work planned and
executed under the
government of His
Excellency, and thus
far completed at the
date of his
departure from this
province.

Beyond this is the new boat wharf, and we then come to the Napier Mole Bridge, crossing the Chinna Creek, about which in earlier days there was a good deal of controversy. The bridge is 200 feet in length, and the following inscription gives the names of the officials employed during its construction, and the date of its completion.

NAPIER MOLE BRIDGE
Planned by the late James Walker, LL.D., F.R.S.L. & E.,
Civil Engineer,
Completed September, 1864,
W. H. Price, M. Inst. C.E., Supt. of Works, 1860-1864,
Captain G. L. C. Merewether, R.E., do., 1864,
George White, Foreman Bridge Work,
Bhumaya Saenna, Supervisor,
William Sangster, Foreman Engineer.

Parallel to this is the new bridge, of 30 spans, each of 40 feet, adapted for a double line of railway, and at the north-western extremity of the Bridges is the Port Trust Office. Passing this, one steps upon the Native Jetty, 550 feet in length, by means of which, since 1861, the chief commerce of the port has been carried on. It is a good solid piece of work, down the centre of which are several Godowns, and around the water-edge on both sides formerly ran the tramway lines, connecting this point with the merchants' Godowns in the town, but these have recently been removed to give place to the railway.

Leaving the Native Jetty and traversing about 350 yards, a little past the second milestone from Kiamāri, the Custom House is reached, if not a very busy haunt, certainly a noisy one, for on both flanks passes the tramway, and the railway is in close proximity.

This is the same old "Chabutra" that was in existence when Kurrachee was occupied by the British, a building of one storey in height, reared upon five arches, but since that time a wing has been added to each end, that on the east having been built in 1869.

The examination of a traveller's baggage at the Custom-house is not a trying ordeal. Probably the only articles that he would carry liable to import duty are fire-arms and sporting gunpowder. On all fire-arms, other than pistols, introduced for the first time into India, there is a duty of Rs. 50 each, and on gun barrels a duty of Rs. 30 each. For pistols he will have to pay Rs. 15 each, and on pistol barrels, Rs. 10. On gunpowder there is a charge of 10 per cent, on fixed tariff valuations.

If the new arrival demurs to the payment of duty on the ground that his arms are not new, but that they have been in India within one year, and have already paid duty, he will meet with some difficulty in clearing them, unless he can produce a certificate to satisfy the authorities, that twelve months have not elapsed since he left the country.

It was mentioned to me recently by a general officer, a great part

of whose distinguished career was passed in Sind, that when he first landed at Kurrachee, upwards of 40 years ago, he found nothing but a cluster of mud-huts. I imagined that he alluded to Kiamāri, but he reiterated his assertion, and although it is opposed to fact, I think that it is perfectly in accord with what he saw on his arrival. There was at that time only one track or road, called the "Bunder," leading from the Port to the cantonments, and on the right of this there were then no buildings. To the left there was, as we know, a town or city containing some 14,000 inhabitants, but this town is built on ground only a few feet above high-water mark, that slopes abruptly down to the dry bed of the Lyaree, and its frontage on the high-way consisted mainly of a burial ground and a cattle market. It is, therefore, perfectly possible that the General, in his subaltern days, was carried past the town without being aware of its existence, but should he revisit the scene of his earlier wanderings, he will find both sides of the road covered with buildings, and converted into the busiest quarters of the shipping, banking, and commercial interests of Kurrachee.

CHAPTER VII.

POPULATION. ADMINISTRATION. WATER-WORKS.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the town, it will be advisable to define its area, estimate its population, discuss the system of administration, and refer to its sanitary arrangements.

The boundaries of the Municipal District are, on the North, a range of hills and the Trigonometrical Survey Points; on the South, the Ghizri Sands and the Sea-shore; on the East, the Hands Hill Quarries, and on the West the Sea-shore. But these boundaries are purely nominal, and in fact are the limits of the Survey of Kurrachee, and its environs, made in 1869-70.

Within this district, which comprises nearly 74 square miles, are included large areas of waste lands, of sands covered at certain seasons by water; of rocky ground absolutely useless; and of property belonging to Government, under the control of the Civil and Military Authorities, and of the Port Trust. The Municipality is at perfect liberty to claim sovereignty over this area, but as a matter of fact the limits are purely accidental, and result from the necessity that the Survey party had, to fix certain points from which to make their observations.

The area of Kurrachee, *quâ* town, is confined to a much more limited space. Roughly speaking it is in the shape of a triangle of which the *apex* is at the Custom House, the *base* a line drawn from the Frere Street, or Cantonment Station to the Government Gardens, and the *sides* are the Lyaree River, and the Sind Railway, and altogether it comprises about five square miles, or 3,200 acres. In this triangle is contained a portion of the Cantonment lands, but on the other hand parts of the *Sadar*, the General Hospital, and the Roman Catholic Convent, which are within the township, extend beyond the base line, so that the two are fairly equalized. It excludes the Lyaree Quarter on

the opposite side of the river of that name, and also the Kiamāri Quarter. The former is thickly populated, and must be taken into account in an estimate of the number of inhabitants, and so also must the latter, but this is to a great extent situated on property belonging to the Port Trust.

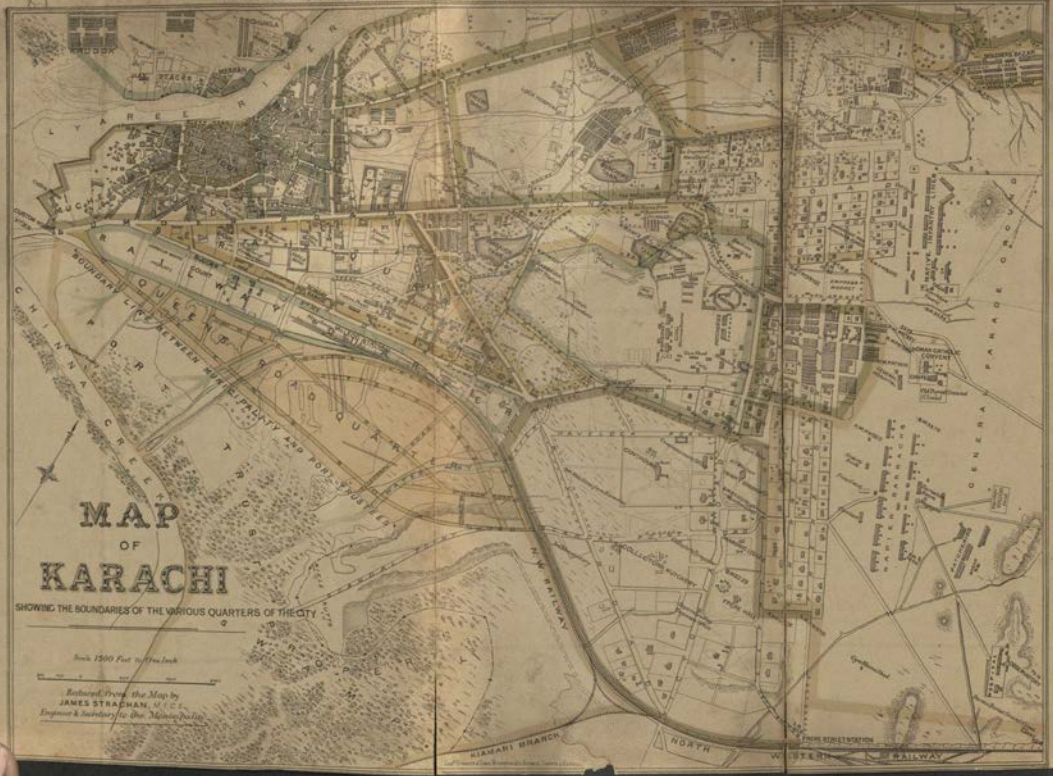
The following table gives the names of the quarters into which the Municipal district is divided, including the new ones recently opened up, together with the number of inhabitants in each, according to the latest computation.

No.	Municipal Quarter.	No. of Inhabitants.
1	Old Town...	7,552
2	Napier	5,800
3	Sadar Bāzār	7,500
4	Bhisti-wārā	206
5	Soldiers' Bāzār	1,140
6	Quarries	217
7	Garden	6,000
8	Jail	2,909
9	Layāree	24,609
10	Manora	1,461
11	Baba, Bhīt, Shumshir	620
12	Kiamāri	1,525
13	Serai	820
14	Rāmbāgh	3,000
15	Railway	1,678
16	Civil Lines	400
17	Frere Town and Cantonment	5,528
18	Ghizree	50
19	Clifton	100
20	Bunder	2,500
21	Machi Miānee	2,406
22	Market	4,063
23	Ranchor Lines	3,500
24	Ramowāmi	2,500
25	Bēgāri Kātha	500
26	Preedy	800
	Total	87,384

To the above will shortly be added the "Queen's Road Quarter," a well-populated district, which is now being laid out. The Map of the Town is not sufficiently large to include Numbers 10, 11, and 12, of the above table, but their position is shown in the Plan of the Harbour.

As has been already stated, the population of Kurrachee when first occupied by the British was never clearly estimated; by some authorities it was said to be less than 8,000, and by others more than 14,000. According to an official registration made in 1813, the town with its suburbs then contained 13,000 persons. Burnes in 1830 estimated the population at 15,000, and in 1850 it amounted to 16,773. In 1853 the

KURRACHEE (KARACHI) PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE, BY ALEXANDER F. BAILLIE, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.


MAP
OF
KARACHI
SHOWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE VARIOUS QUARTERS OF THE CITY
Scale 1500 Feet to 1 Inch
Reduced From the Map by
JAMES STRACHAN, M.I.C.E.
Engineer & Surveyor to the Municipality
LYARI RIVER
KHARADAR
NEW TOWN
NEW QUARTERS
BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN MUNICIPALITY AND PORT TRUST
PORT TRUST
NEW QUARTERS
CHINNA CREEK
NEW TOWN
NEW QUARTERS
NEW TOWN
NEW QUARTERS
NEW TOWN
NEW QUARTERS

town contained 13,769 inhabitants, and the suburbs 8,458, making a total of 22,227, and according to the census of 1856, the population of the town and camp was found to be 56,879.

This increase in three years, which more than doubled the population, is very remarkable, and all the more so that during the next sixteen years the number of inhabitants not only did not increase but actually retrograded, for according to the census of 1872, the total number of inhabitants, including the garrison, only amounted to 56,753. When the third census was taken in February, 1881, the number, including residents in the Cantonments, reached 73,560, and allowing for an increase of 2 per cent. since that date the number would now be about 84,500, but these figures are considered as very much under the mark, and it is believed that the population is now over 100,000 An increase of two per cent. is by no means a high ratio, for from the above figures it will be seen that between 1872 and 1881 the increase was at the rate of more than 3 per cent.; it was, however, in 1872, and still remains a matter of surprise, that in the preceding 16 years there had been a diminution in the number of inhabitants, for during that period there had been no great epidemics, and it was, moreover, in 1856 that the export and import trades made a very great stride.

The population of the town undoubtedly fluctuates very greatly, and there are few cities in India that can furnish a greater admixture of different tribes and different nationalities.

In addition to the permanent residents, there is a constant flow of temporary visitors, consisting of natives from the surrounding country, and from remote districts of the Province; of Kutchees, Baluchees, Mooltanees, and Punjabees, from inland, and of Arabs and Persians from the Gulf. If for any cause a large portion of these casual residents were to remain away for any length of time, it would tend greatly to a reduction in the number of the inhabitants, and it seems not improbable that during a part of the 16 years above referred to, there were reasons that prevented the usual annual influx, and that perhaps induced permanent residents to leave the town in considerable numbers.

It will be remembered that between 1862 and 1867 there arose a great demand for cotton, in consequence of the Civil War in America, and this led to its cultivation in India to a much greater extent than had hitherto been done. Naturally the country folk remained in the country reaping a golden harvest, and many of the town folk were attracted to

the new fields of labour. The movement was not evanescent, but lasted for some years, during which new ties would be formed, and new domestic relations created. Such ties would retain the real agriculturists on the plains, and would serve to retard the return of the townsman to his home, and these circumstances would both tend to prevent the normal increase in the population of Kurrachee. I confess that I have not come across any authority on which to base my hypothesis, but it seems not improbable that the circumstance that I have mentioned, may account to some extent for a deviation from the common laws of production.

In dividing the inhabitants of the town and cantonments according to the census of 1881 into races, the Kurrachee Municipality in its Annual Report states that there were:—

Christians	4,161
Hindūs	24,617
Mahommedans	38,946
Parsis	937
All others	4,899
Total ...	73,560

This *all others* is very remarkable; and the compiler of the Imperial Gazetteer appears to have noted it, and to have put the word "others" between inverted commas, but he has not made any attempt to define the religious belief of the large number of people included under this heading, representing over six-and-a-half per cent. of the whole population. I am more venturesome, and will endeavour to elucidate the apparent incongruity.

The town itself, exclusive of the Cantonments, contained in 1881 68,332 inhabitants, and in Cantonments there were 5,228. This latter number comprised a Battery of Field, and one of Garrison Artillery, one European and one Native Regiment; and the men of the ordnance and barrack Departments, with their families, together about 300. Now if these 300 permanent residents be deducted from the total force in Cantonments, we find that there remains almost the exact number included under the heading of "all others," and we arrive at the conclusion that the municipality was unable to define the religious belief of Her Majesty's forces, who in 1881 formed the garrison of Kurrachee, and therefore massed them together under one collective title. This is certainly "rough" on the Gunners and Linesmen. If a regiment of Baluchees happened to be the corps of Native Infantry stationed in the town in that year, there may be some excuse for the

want of an accurate definition, for gallant and fine soldiers as they are, they are by no means "lamb-like," and are reputed to have imported into military life, together with their national pride, and ideas of honour, a tendency to the same roughness, and to the same habits of intoxication and debauchery to which they are accustomed in their own wild and barren country; and more than once the ladies of Kurrachee have been alarmed by current rumours that the "Baluchees were up" and about to "loot" the Bāzār; but to exclude the "Artillery," the "Worcestershire" or the "Yorkshire Light Infantry," who have recently been in camp, from the list of "Castes," and to put them under the heading of "all others," is hardly intelligible, and yet that is the only explanation that I can venture to offer of the somewhat incoherent expression employed in the Municipal Report.

There is another point which may be mentioned, namely, the disproportion of females to males. Of the former there were in 1881, 29,999, and of the latter, 43,561. If even 5,000, representing the number of troops, be deducted from the males, the disproportion is still large, but according to the "Statistical Returns" of the Bombay Presidency, 132 males are born in the Kurrachee district to every 100 females, and the Registrar of Births and Deaths in the City reports the birth of 1,992 males against that of 1,878 females during the year 1887-88.

It will be noticed that in the list of "castes" already given, the Muhammadans far out-number the Hindūs; but the proportion in Kurrachee is not so great as in the remainder of the Province of Sind, where the ratio is about three to one. The original population of the whole country was Hindū, but it was conquered and converted to Islamism by the Arabs, under Muhammad Kāsim, A.D. 713, and although generally it may be regarded as a remnant of the conquered race, yet there is reason to believe that the majority of the present Hindū residents of the Port emigrated from Northern India in comparatively recent times.

There are two great divisions of Musulmāns, which are sub-divided into many sects. These two are Sunnees and Sheeahs, and generally speaking it may be said that Turks are the former, Persians the latter.

Sunni is an Arabic word signifying "lawful," and has become attached to the orthodox believer who reveres equally the four successors of Muhammad.

Sheeah is also Arabic, and properly signifies a troop or sect, but has become the distinctive appellation of the followers of Alī, or of all

those who maintain that he was the first legitimate Khalifah or successor to Muhammad, though only the fourth in actual succession.* Alī was a cousin of the prophet, and married his favourite daughter, Fatima, the only one of his children who left any offspring. He thus became in the belief of his followers the first Imām, or spiritual and temporal head of the Musulmān community, but on his death a schism took place in the sect, and other and greater divisions followed among the Sheeahs. But these schisms are beyond our province, with the exception of one or two, for Sindees are almost universally Sunnees, of the Hanifite sect. This sect takes its name from Aboo Huneefa, a pupil of the Imām Jafer Sadik, the sixth who held that title, from whom, however, he separated to establish a school of his own. Jafer Sadik appointed his eldest son Ishmael to succeed him, and on his premature death nominated his second son Moosa as his successor. This appointment gave rise to great dissensions among the Sheeahs, and a great number of them declared in favour of the son of the deceased Ishmael, thence taking the name of Ishmaelians. Those who adhered to Moosa Kazim, the second son of Jafer, and his descendants, for five more generations, are called *Athna-asheriahs*, or twelve-eans, as being followers of the twelve Imāms, and they arrogate to themselves the title of "Mumīnīn," as being the *only* true believers, and from this we get the word *Memon*. Of Memons many are found settled in Kurrachee, and according to Burton they were originally Hindūs from Kutch, who became Moslems. He says that some of them are very learned men, and that they have done more than any other class to introduce the religious services into Sind, and he adds that no class of people is more highly spoken of than the Memon, and this is still the case.

The Ishmaelian sect is found in large numbers in Kurrachee, but under a different name, and differing also in some particulars from the holders of that creed. They are called *Khwajas*, from the Persian word *Khwaja*, signifying *a man of position, a rich merchant*, and are stated to have originally come from Persia. They wear white, red, and coloured clothes, avoiding dark blue, the usual hue of clothing in Sind. Their character for probity and for the observance of strict rules in life is highly spoken of.

The Beluchees, as already mentioned, are exceedingly rough and unusually illiterate, but in religion they are classified in Sind as Sunnees of the Hanifite sect, though towards Persia many of them are said to be

* Baillie's Digest of Moohummadun Law.

Sheeahs. The Siddees, that is to say the descendants of Zanzibarees, and other slaves from the Coast of Arabia, follow the religions of their former masters, and most of them are regarded as Hanifite Mussulmāns. There are a few Afghāns and some members of the Syud families, who are Sheeahs, settled in Kurrachee, and with them I may conclude this brief relation of the Muhammedan population.

Of the Hindūs some account has been given in connection with the visits of Commander Carless and of other officers prior to, or contemporaneously with, the British occupation, but since that period a change has taken place in the class of inhabitants.

Captain S. V. W. Hart, writing in 1839, says: "With the Hindoos (of Sind) I have associated closely, and have found the merchants of that tribe the same intelligent, hard-working men as in India. They are as attentive to the most trifling as to the largest gain, correct in their dealings, and enterprising in their speculations."

The merchants here referred to concentrated at Kurrachee from the surrounding country. They came chiefly from the neighbourhood of the Indus, from Chopra, Setta, and Nussurpoor; they were, in fact, inhabitants of Lower Sind. But the majority of the Hindūs at the present time originally came from much farther north, namely, from Ghūznee, in Cabul.

These are Lohanas, who belong to the Vaishya, the third of the four Hindū tribes, and who were the great carriers of the Afghān trade. They were a pastoral race, and moved about in vast caravans of 8,000 to 10,000 souls, searching for good pasturage on the borders of the Indus, where their flocks and herds were left, while the able-bodied men crossed the Punjāb with goods for sale in that province, or on the banks of the Ganges. After the extinction of the Indus trade, in the latter end of the last century, they supplied themselves with sea-borne goods *viâ* Calcutta, but Sir Bartle Frere mentions that during the time he was Commissioner in Sind the first of the tribe came down to Kurrachee, and told him that they would soon all come that way, and that they had no idea of its comparative shortness, and other facilities. They now form the majority of the Hindū population, and next to them, in point of numbers, are the Brahmāns; and of Rājpūts there are between three and four hundred.

The Lohanas are divided into two classes: 1st, the "Amils," of whom mention has been made, and who occupy the position of Government servants and clerks; and 2ndly, the *Seths* (wholesale merchants, bankers,

and brokers), hātwālās (shopkeepers), and other tradesmen and artizans. In their way of living they differ very little from Europeans. They eat flesh, except that of the cow, of barn-door fowls, and of some other animals, which are considered impure, on account of their habits of feeding; they do not object to fish; and they drink spirits and wine, when they are to be had. As regards dress, the Amils and the better class of shopkeepers wear the Mussulmān costume, a shirt, with the opening on the left side, as opposed to the Moslems, who always have it on the right; the *suthan*, or trousers of coloured cotton, and a loose jacket; the head-piece being the *siraiki-topi*, a hat of somewhat extraordinary shape, though really similar in form to the ordinary silk hat commonly to be seen in the streets of London, but used in a different way. Take such a hat as we usually wear—the abomination that fashion and custom obliges us to use—but with a perfectly flat rim, cut out the top, close the opening for the head, and cover the whole, excepting the top, with a piece of cloth, of a flowered pattern; put it on your head with the rim upwards, and you will have a very fair imitation of the Sindee topee. It is, as with us, a mark of respectability. The young Amil does not wear it at the early age that an Eton boy adopts the tall hat, but so soon as he has got some sort of situation, and can provide for himself, he is raised to the dignity of a *topiwala* with a good deal of ceremony and formality.

In appearance the Amils are more robust and better looking than the ordinary Sindees, as also they are better educated. They are clever at accounts, and in the management of money matters, but Burton, whose notes on the population of Sind, and on the customs and language of the people, still form the ground work of most books relating to that country, considered them rather acute than talented, and gave them as a class an exceedingly bad character. According to him "they are held by no oath, fear no risk, and show no pity when in pursuit of gain; they hesitate not to forge documents, seals, and orders, for the most trifling advantage; show a determined fondness for falsehood, and unite the utmost patience in suffering to the greatest cowardice in action," but he adds that "even the Amīrs, with all their hatred and contempt for Kafirs, could not collect or dispose of their revenues without the aid of Hindoo Amils," and in Kurrachee, at the present time, they are never in want of employment in banks and counting-houses, and are exceedingly well paid.

Lohanas, who do not wear the costume of the Amils, dress like Hindūs of the ordinary shopkeeping and agricultural classes; they

wear the turban, the *lung*, which may be described as "a divided petticoat," and a cotton robe, something like a dressing gown, called an *angarkha*.

Earlier mention has been made of the Brāhmans, second in point of numbers among the Hindus of Kurrachee, but ^.st of the four tribes as forming the upper or sacerdotal class.

The two chief castes are the *Pokurnâ* and *Sarsudh*. The former are the instructors of Hindūs in their religious duties, and do not engage in trade or business of any kind. They eat no flesh, never drink spirits, and only marry in their own caste.

The Sarsudh in manner of living resembles the Lohana, he abstains from some sorts of meats, which are considered impure, but will eat flesh provided that he is not obliged to kill the animal that supplies it. He wears the dress of an ordinary Hindū merchant, and engages in business, but is seldom found in Government employ.

Rājpūts, of whom it has been stated there are from three to four hundred in Kurrachee, belong to the second or military caste, and are said to be offsets of the Kshatryas, one of the four great Hindū tribes, but the Rājpūts resident in Kurrachee do not claim any distinction on account of their high caste, they are simply emigrants from Rājpūtāna, a large province subsidiary to our Government, which borders on Sind. They wear no particular costume, and live like Sarsudh Brahmāns.

The number of Parsīs residing in the town by no means represents their importance as factors of the trade and commerce of the Port. As their name implies they originally came from Pars or Persia, and are said to have settled in India in the seventh century.

They are called "fire-worshippers," but I question very much whether that title explains their tenets.

They are followers of the school of Zoroaster, the most ancient king of Bactria, celebrated for his deep and acute researches in philosophy, in the origin of the world, and in astronomy, who first invented magic or the doctrines of the Magi, and admitted no visible object of devotion, except fire, which he considered the most proper emblem of a Supreme Being; and the modern Parsī still holds to this reverence for fire, but goes further and endeavours to maintain the purity of all the elements. In order to prevent their pollution, it is the custom of the Parsīs to place their dead in lofty towers, where the flesh is devoured by birds of prey, and the remnant dissolves into dust.

They appear to hold in India a somewhat similar position to that held by the Jews in England in the middle ages. The community is not large throughout the country, and is said not to exceed a quarter of a million, but that body is compact and entirely self-supporting.

There are no Parsī beggars, and there are no Parsī women of bad character. They are extremely charitable, they not only look after their own poor, but they raise a fund for paying the capitation tax levied on their co-religionists in Persia. Like the Jews they are clever at languages, and have a wondrous power of collecting information from all parts of the world. A Parsī in his office at Bombay probably knows more about the current opinions of Muhammadans and Hindūs in India and its neighbouring countries, than all our commissioners and collectors, put together, and could forecast what is likely to occur with much greater nicety than our combined intelligence departments.

Of the foreign markets they watch every change; by no means restricting themselves to those of Europe, Asia, and Africa, they extend their operations to the United States and Australasia, to Brazil and even to the South American Republics. Endowed with great quickness of perception, and animated with an insatiable desire to acquire wealth, which, however, they dispense freely, it is charged against them that they strike extremely hard bargains, and in consequence they have frequently been compared to the Hebrew race, of which by some they are supposed to be the lost tribe.

But their commercial success is certainly well deserved, for they display an amount of energy and activity which is seldom exceeded by Europeans. There are Parsīs who have travelled in light marching order round and round the world, searching for new trade outlets. Their baggage frequently consists of a solitary carpet bag, but it is one that emulates that of the great prestidigitator Houdin; for out of it are produced ordinary wearing apparel, books and maps, photographs and plans, and if ceremony demands its use, a suit for evening dress is never wanting.

The number of Parsīs in Kurrachee does not exceed 1,000, but, among them are to be found many cultivated gentlemen of great wealth and keen intellect, exceedingly charitable and patriotic, in the sense that they are always ready and anxious to develop, and benefit the town in which they reside, and in which their interests are concentrated.

It has been already stated that the admixture of castes and classes in Kurrachee is very great, and it is convenient and courteous for a

Types of inhabitants.

visitor to that town, as in other strange places, to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of any resident. By looking at the sign-board or the portals of any shop or store that he is about to enter, the name thereon displayed, can in a great measure guide him as to the class to which its occupant belongs, and his dress will frequently afford further assistance. For instance, the names of the Amils, merchants, shopkeepers, and other members of the Vaishya tribe of Hindūs, have generally the terminations Mal, Ram, Chand, Lall, or Das, which have been imported from Gujerat, as Gidumal, Dowlutram, Timchand, Madhawdas, &c., which would not be used by Musulmans, and the ordinary Hindū shopkeeper will have a full moustache, but his beard shaved, and on his forehead the visitor will probably notice the *tilak*, or sectarian sign, made with coloured earth, which has, however, the appearance of a spot of blood, and is somewhat unsightly. *Rao Saheb* and *Rao Bahadur*, which are frequently prefixed to the name of a Hindū of position, are titles bestowed by the Government, and correspond to our word "Esquire." If the person dignified is a Musulmān or a Parsī, *Khan* is substituted for Rao. As is only natural among the Mahommedan inhabitants, there are a great number of *Mahomeds*, *Ismaels*, *Ibrahims*, *Abduls*, and *Alis*, and the designations of Aga, Hajee, Mirza, and Shaik are constantly used as prefixes, after which follow the bearer's own names and then that of his father. (Parsī surnames almost invariably end in ī, as, for instance, *Jamsedji Jijibhai* which has a world-wide celebrity. The learned writer of an article on "Indian Names for English Tongues," which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of January, 1889, says that the name of the first Parsī baronet was Jamsedji, and his father's name Jijibhai, and that he got the two names entailed in his title, so that each successor adopts them, abandoning, on accession, his own name, which may have been Cursetjee or Jehangir; and he adds that the *real surname* of the family was *Bottlewalla*. This I question, for Parsīs were settled in India long before bottled beer was introduced; it is much more probable that when through honest trade, the "bottlewalla" had accumulated an ample fortune, he searched back for a family surname, as some of our great contractors and other rich men, when raised to the peerage, have been known to do, and resumed the one that his ancestors had formerly used. I take it, however, that Jamsedji was the clan or family name, and not Jijibhai, for there are numerous residents in Bombay who bear the former as their last and principal name.)

I have now mentioned generally all the races and sects comprised

in the population of the town, including "all others" but excepting the Christians.

Of them I can only say that they appear to live harmoniously, and that they are fairly well supplied with places of worship. In the whole of the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, there are 137 Roman Catholic churches, and 63 for other denominations of Christians. Of the former Kurrachee has two: that of St. Patrick, on the main land, and the chapel dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Kiamāri; and of the latter there are four, including St. Paul's, at Manora, of which mention has been already made. These buildings will seat about 2,500 people, but the accommodation is not equally divided, for the majority of Christians in Kurrachee belong to the Church of Rome, and the congregation of St. Patrick is said to exceed 2,000 in number, while it has only room for 700. The Mission Church (Christ's) is in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and is used both for English and native services. Attached to it are two ordained European missionaries, with several native agents. The Roman Catholic Mission is a more important body. Belonging to it there are the St. Patrick's High School and the St. Joseph's Convent School, both situated in Camp. The latter is conducted by the Daughters of the Cross, and comprises a boarding school, a day school, and an English teaching *Madrasa* poor school. There are more than 200 pupils in all.

The Municipal Corporation springs from a Board of Conservancy, appointed, during a visitation of cholera, by Sir Charles Napier, when Governor of Sind, in 1846, to take measures for improving the sanitary condition of the town; and the Board was, in 1852, absorbed into the Municipal Commission, appointed by order of Government, and has been in existence ever since, although there have been frequent changes in its constitution, and in the number of its members. The greatest change took place on the introduction of the Bombay Local Self-Government scheme, in January, 1885, under which one moiety of the Commissioners were elected by the ratepayers, and the other moiety were nominated by the Commissioner in Sind. The Commissioners are elected or appointed for three years, and the term of those who first took office under the scheme referred to, expired at the end of the calendar year 1887. The Managing Committee, who submitted their "Report on the working of the Municipality" up to that date, *morituri* sing their own death-hymn, an ode in which they recount their deeds, and enumerate the notable events, that have occurred since the birth of the Cor-

poration. It is neither too plaintive nor too self-laudatory, but in simple language, recites how the municipal resources have increased and how they have been dispensed for the general benefit, in the achievement of works of great public utility.

The total revenue for the first year of the existence of the Corporation amounted to Rs. 13,514, and the expenditure was very slightly less; in the year 1858-59 the income had increased to Rs. 60,838, and the out-goings were Rs. 52,053; and in 1865-66 the total receipts had reached Rs. 236,060, but the expenditure was considerably in excess, for it amounted to Rs. 259,851, the deficit being met from a Reserved Fund. The year 1873 (in 1872 the Municipality, by order of Government, published its first report) showed a decrease, the total income only amounting to Rs. 229,779; but since that time, although there have been many fluctuations, the augmentation has been general, and the average income, for ten years, namely, 1876 to 1886, exclusive of income placed to Reserve Fund, was Rs. 267,442, while the average yearly expenditure for the same period, exclusive of payments from the Reserve Fund, was Rs. 232,200.

The fluctuations of the annual income are the results of frequent reductions of the Municipal dues, and, in some cases, of their total abolition. The schedule of dues, when the Municipality was first constituted, included taxes on malt liquors, wines, and spirits, in addition to dues on articles of local consumption, on which duty is still charged; and also transit duties, levied on cotton, wool, grain, and seeds. The house-tax of 2 per cent. was first imposed in the year 1863, and at the same time the number of articles made subject to town duties was enlarged, but Government strongly enforced the necessity of abolishing transit duties, and, in the course of the next twenty years, those on raw cotton, raw silk, cotton piece goods, woollen and silk goods, were removed; and, in 1885, the duties on metal, indigo, and coir rope were also abolished. In order to encourage the great export traffic in wheat and seeds, *gunny* bags were freed, in 1883, from the duty that had been levied hitherto upon them; and in 1886 the octroi on metals, millinery, hosiery, haberdashery, and silk was abolished. On the other hand some new taxes were levied, namely, on foreign sugars, so that country sugars might be placed on an equal footing; on glue imported by sea; on stones brought from within Municipal duties; and notice has been recently given that application will be made to Government for power to impose an octroi duty of 8 annas per maund on almonds,

pistachio-nuts, and dried fruits brought by sea to the port. The house-tax has also been increased to 3 per cent. on the assessed annual letting value.

The duties of the Municipal Board of Kurachee, and, indeed, of Municipal Boards throughout India, are many and various.

They include, under one body, those which at home are assigned to several Departments or Boards.

The Kurachee Municipality is a compound of Vestry, School Board, Board of Works, and Commission of Police, with increments of a Customs Establishment, a Science and Art Department, and a Light and Water Company. Probably, if left without control, a body so composed would quickly sink to the level of the different elements forming it, as they are known to us in the Metropolis.

It would, in a short time, become as ridiculous and nepotist as a London Vestry, as tyrannical and imperious as the School Board, as scandalous and corrupt as the late Board of Works, as narrow-minded and muddling as the Science and Art Department, as greedy and grasping as a Water Company, and as long-winded and pretentious as the County Council.

But the composition of an Indian Municipal Board generally prevents its being degraded to the standard of such institutions; and should one of them become totally impracticable it is quietly admonished, and even dissolved or temporarily suspended, as was recently the case at Ahmedabad, where the Municipality persisted in imposing octroi duties in spite of the repeated warnings of the Government of Bombay; and, still more lately, at Serampore, whose Commissioners are said to have achieved only one success:—that of neglecting completely their public duties.

The Commissioner in Sind has the powers of a Lieutenant-Governor. He regards Kurrachee as the capital of the Province that he rules, and naturally takes a great interest in its development. He is the controlling authority, and his recommendations as to what should be permitted, and what should be prohibited, have great weight with the Supreme Government. But the Commissioner's duties are Imperial, and he has to make local interests subservient to those of the State.

There can be no greater desideratum in a thickly populated town, than a good supply of water for drinking and sanitary purposes, but when in 1877 the Municipality, backed by the Commissioner, applied to Government for a loan with which to construct waterworks, the request

was refused, until such time as proper provision should have been made for the exemption from duty, of goods in transit.

The President of the Municipal Commission, and of the Managing Committee, is usually a resident European of good social position, the manager or agent of a Bank, or the head of a leading mercantile house; and with him are allied a few other Europeans, and a number of native gentlemen. Of the Commisioners in 1887 there were eight of the former and twenty-four of the latter; and on the Committee, out of nine members six were natives, so that the great majority of the population was fairly well represented.

The success of an Indian municipality and the advantages that it may confer on the inhabitants, whose health and well-being are confided to its charge, are, however, mainly dependent on its chief paid officials, its Secretary and its Engineer, appointments that are sometimes (as was fortunately the case in Kurrachee) held by one and the same person.

There is no wider field for the display of attainments in sanitary science than an Indian city and its surroundings. An engineer of ability, with his heart in the work, possessing the confidence of the European members, and knowing how to treat the native element of the Commission with courtesy and consideration, if he will but be patient, and await his opportunity, may in the end carry any point that, in his opinion, will tend to the benefit of the community.

He has many difficulties to encounter. A project for the construction of waterworks, for a system of drainage, for making roads with the necessary bridges, for building a new market place, or for closing a pestiferous cemetery, or a noxious cesspool, may be recommended by the Managing Committee, approved unanimously by the Municipal Commission, and importunately demanded by their constituents; but if such a project has to be submitted to the Local Board, the Public Works Department or other bureaucracy, and especially if public money, by grant or loan, be necessary for carrying it out, then let the projector resign himself to interminable correspondence, to endless delay, and to a protracted season of patience, or as the Arabic expression has it, of "devouring sorrow." But if he succeeds in this operation, the engineer ultimately gains his case, for even the Indian governmental departments, the most autocratic and the most determined opponents in the whole world to anything initiated by mercantile corporations or private individuals, and even to works of public utility, excepting railways when completely under their own control,

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have ultimately to submit to general opinion, and to the demands of common sense.

In the great Presidency cities, in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the public voice is strong, money is more plentiful, and the respective governors can dispose of it, with fewer official formalities ; in the chief military stations the commanding officers possess great power, and in the area assigned for the use of the troops do pretty much as they like. At Simla, the "Windsor" of the Viceregal Court, and at Allahabad, the pet of Governors, the "enfant cheri" of Viceroys, with its Government Press, its Mayo Hall, its Muir College, and its Alfred Park, funds are never wanting for civic improvements, and the consumption of red-tape is, in their case, very much reduced.

But in the purely mercantile, and semi-mercantile centres, the populations are solely dependent on the Municipalities for any additions to their ease or comfort, and the Municipalities are generally dependent on their Engineers. Take for example Amritsar, a great city of the Punjāb, with a population of 150,000, chiefly dedicated to mercantile pursuits, and rivalling, if not surpassing, in its trade and the number of its inhabitants, the old Sikh Capital Lahore, where, by-the-bye, a Municipal Committee has conferred enormous benefits on a most unhealthy city, by supplying it with plenty of water, and filling up the moat. Amritsar, the "fount of immortality," has a world-wide fame for its "Sona Musjid" or "Golden Temple." It is a large walled city, and takes its name from a *tala'o*, or reservoir, constructed three centuries ago, and filled with water supplied by natural springs, and clear as crystal, at least in appearance, notwithstanding the multitudes of pilgrims who bathe in it.

In the centre of this huge tank, which is surrounded by a broad pathway of white marble, stands the temple raised in honour of Vishnu, which is approached by a causeway also of marble.

The interior of the building is richly embellished, and the exterior, though covered, not with gold, but with sheets of burnished copper, is remarkable in appearance and exceedingly beautiful, especially when the rays of the setting sun strike upon the frontage, and amplify its sheen and glitter.

But until within the last ten years, close by this lustrous shrine, with its reservoir of crystalline water, in the very heart of the city, up to that time one of the dirtiest and most unhealthy in India, a large space was occupied by a noisome cesspool, which sent forth its offensive

exhalations to vitiate the atmosphere, and germinate disease; while outside the wall ran an open sewer draining into hollow broken ground, that probably had once been the city ditch.

An ornamental garden, prettily laid out and planted with Eucalypti, has now been substituted for the intra-mural cesspool, and outside, all round the city, a conduit has been constructed, which is constantly flushed with clear water, and beyond this the hollows have been filled in, and the surface of the ground levelled for a considerable distance.

The health of the inhabitants, and the sanitary improvements of the city, were the primary objects of the Municipality and of the able Secretary of that body, Mr. Nicholl, and these were attained at little or no expense, for the area that has been recovered outside the walls must in the end prove of great value.

But the chief point to which attention should be called is the unfussy and inexpensive manner in which a great work for the public benefit, like that at Amritsar, can be carried out by an able official, if only very small means be placed under his control.

Mr. Nicholl, some way or other, became possessed of a very narrow light railway, or tramway, and with this he set to work.

The story is told of an executive engineer superintending the construction of some Indian public work, that with a view to getting as much as possible out of his labourers, with a minimum waste of their physical powers, he caused a number of wooden wheelbarrows to be constructed, and pointed out their use and advantages. Being called elsewhere, later in the day he received a report from the native left in charge, to the effect "that the work was going on very well, but the barrows were very heavy to carry," and on making further inquiry he learned that notwithstanding his explanation of the manner in which they were to be employed, the coolies were carrying the laden barrows on their heads, following the usual method adopted in India for the transport of heavy goods.

Mr. Nicholl's people at Amritsar were very different. They evidently appreciated the reduction of personal labour that the tramways effected, and in their own way they enjoyed the excitements of a *switchback* railway, such as is now patronised by all classes in London, at almost every public place of open air entertainment.

They appeared to understand their duties perfectly; each of them seized a section of light rails and placed it accurately in position, com-

mencing on the high ground from which ballast had to be excavated, and terminating at the hollows in which it was to be deposited.

Then they began to load the iron basket-shaped trucks, and so soon as these were filled, the men put their shoulders to the wheels to push the train of some twenty-five trucks to the top of the decline, and to give it an impetus. When once it commenced to glide downwards, laughing, screaming, chattering, they sprung like so many monkeys on every available point, some on the top of the ballast, others on the buffers, and the remnant clinging to the sides. Away rattled the train upon its course, over mounds and hillocks, quivering and shaking and threatening an upset, greatly to the amusement of its dusky passengers, and perhaps still more to that of the onlookers. It was brought to a standstill without any accident at the side of the hollow, and in a moment the baskets were unhitched, and their contents tilted over.

With such simple mechanical aid in the hands solely of natives, a large area of ground had been recovered round the city walls, which are upwards of five miles in circuit, when I visited Amritzar, some three years ago, and probably since that date much greater changes have been made.

I have wandered from my subject, but before returning to Kurrachee, I beg the reader's permission to mention one spectacle that greatly attracted my attention at Amritzar.

On driving to the door of Mr. Nicholl's house we were met by his henchman;—a man-at-arms of gigantic stature, in all his panoply of breast-plate, morion and greaves of polished steel, was standing at the side of our little *gārī*, perfectly erect and holding in his hand a halberd that towered some feet above his head.

Monarchs, nobles, and cardinals have chosen in different countries, and at different periods, Scotchmen, Yorkshiremen, Cossacks and Suisses, as porters, gillies, doorkeepers, and personal attendants, on account of their magnificent proportions, but it certainly caused me a great surprise to find the house of a private gentleman guarded by a sentry, whose appearance carried back my thoughts to the days of chivalry, and who might have stepped out of the Armoury of the Tower of London.

But there he was, with his coat of mail rattling, but his lips replying in the softest tones to my inquiry whether the Sahib was at home, and as I looked at him it struck me that I had previously seen his picture, and my friend confirmed this belief and informed me that the portrait

of his wonderful attendant had appeared sometime earlier in the "Graphic."

The warrior armed *de pied en cap* was a Sikh or follower of Nanak, who founded the sect in the fifteenth century and received the name of Goru or "spiritual pastor." Goonid, the tenth Goru in succession from Nanak, created the temporal power of the Sikhs, and made them a military nation, accustomed to carry arms at all times, and to be at war with all mankind. His followers assumed the title of "Singh," or lion, and it will be remembered that the Prince, who resided for a long time in England, added this appendage to his name "Dhuleep," but the term usually applied to them is "Gorus." They are disappearing as a military class, either dying out or applying themselves to trade pursuits, and the giant whom I saw is probably the last who will wear the old-fashioned armour, and the *chukkars* or steel quoits, that adorn his breast and helmet. These quoits are six to eight inches in diameter, with the outer edge sharpened, and it is stated that when well thrown they will cut off the leg of a horse, or even that of an elephant, but as missiles of war they do not appear to be of any efficiency, and in the great battles of the Sutlej Campaign, Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwāl and Sobraon no mention is made of them. It is true though that at those tremendous conflicts, the opposing forces were at very close quarters. Mr. Nicholl's henchman volunteered for the campaign in the Soudan, and at the same time made a vow that he would neither cut nor comb his hair, until his return. In a moral sense he is undoubtedly to be praised for keeping strictly to his solemn promise, but it was unfortunate for his patron, who, in relating the circumstance, confined himself to the statement that he was obliged to put his faithful follower into strict quarantine, for some months after he came back from the wars.

But to return to Kurrachee! In trying his hand on the improvements of this town, the engineer would have certain advantages which are wanting in the larger, and more conservative cities of India. The old town was small, and its walls offered but little obstruction to its extension, and beyond the walls there was a very considerable area to be laid out in building plots, and streets and roads, before the Municipal Commissioners would come into contact with the military authorities in cantonments, and even over this latter district the engineer has control, as the municipality undertakes to keep the roads in repair, receiving in return the proceeds of a horse-and-wheel tax, levied on residents in cantonments limits.

It may be said that the work has been well done, that there is easy communication between all points, that the roads are good, and well-kept, notwithstanding the sandy and movable soil that has to be dealt with; and that watering them is also carried on to a large extent, although on a flat exposed surface lying under a hot sun, its effects are very slight. The clouds of dust or sand are sometimes so thick, that vehicles may approach from opposite directions, and only become visible to their respective drivers when on the point of a collision.

The water supply was a problem that tried the powers of a considerable number of skilful and intelligent officers, both civil and military and which remained unsolved for more than forty years.

It has already been mentioned that the British force that occupied Kurrachee suffered greatly from the scarcity of water, and that an officer who was present at the time expressed his surprise that recourse was not had to the bed of the Lyāree river. In course of time wells were dug on the banks of this river, and water of a fair quality was obtained, but insufficient in quantity; later on pipes were laid from a well in the Rāmbāgh tank, to cisterns placed at intervals on the Bandar road, to which large stone troughs were affixed, but the inhabitants at any distance from this source, as for instance those resident at Kiamāri, and on the ships in the harbour, obtained their water by means of large barrel carts that carried it down from the mainland. There were also wells in the Commissariat lines, and another was built by Mr. Sapurji Hormazji Sopariwala, near the Rutton Tank, and presented by him to the municipality in 1869.

By these means the population was partially supplied with water probably not altogether unwholesome, but too saline, and not too palatable. The late Sir Bartle Frere when commissioner in Sind said of the water obtained from the very best of the wells, that "though the permanent residents get used to it, and it does not disagree with them, it has on all new-comers the effect of a weak solution of Epsom or Cheltenham salts. Hardly any new arrival escapes inconvenience for the first few weeks of his stay, and to some persons of delicate organisation, and on invalids, the injury is considerable and permanent." But although the permanent residents got used to it, it was always under protest, and schemes were constantly being projected for a good supply, the earliest having been submitted by Captain Baker in 1845.

In one case it was proposed to draw a supply from the Habb, in another from the Layāree, and two projectors intended to make the Indus

the basis of their operations, one of them (Mr. T. G. Newnham) offering, in addition to providing water at the rate of 150 gallons per head for 80,000 people, to irrigate a portion of the Indus Delta, to drain Kurrachee, and to fertilize the barren Moach plain with sewage matter. The attention of the greater number of the projectors was, however, turned towards the Malir, a river which drains about six hundred square miles of country, but which is dry for the greater part of the year. This river is called by different names along its course. At its source it is known as the Vuddia, in the middle as the Goorban, and after receiving the tributary waters of several other streams, it falls into the sea as the Malir. It was found that at certain points on this river, varying from ten to twenty-four miles from the city, water admirably adapted for drinking purposes could be obtained, and stored at certain seasons of the year, but it was also found that the supply offered by the majority of the projectors would not exceed ten gallons per head, of a population of 80,000, and that the expense would be very heavy ; and, although the people grumbled because their water was not good, they would not incur the cost of improving it, and at first went to the extreme of offering general opposition to any scheme for satisfying their wants.

It was not until 1868 that a project was submitted which seemed practicable, and which at the outset it was thought could be executed at a moderate expenditure.

The story of the Kurrachee water works is both extraordinary and interesting. Many of the projectors, as already stated, looked towards the Malir, as the reservoir from which supplies were to be obtained ; but their expectations were confined to the water that might be collected during certain seasons of the year, in the usually dry bed of the river. One engineer went, however, much further. He also took the Malir for his basis, but he determined to make the river amenable to his purpose at *all* times, and at *all* seasons of the year.

The wizard who proposed to charm as if by magic a stream of clear rippling water from the hard, burnt-up, crackled course of the Malir, was the present General (then Colonel) C. J. Merriman, C.S.I., of the Royal (Bombay) Engineers. By some means he discovered, that beneath the dry bed of that river, there flows another river *under ground*, and from experiments he proved that, by means of pumping, 1,200 gallons per minute could be obtained, a quantity sufficient to supply twenty-two gallons of water daily to every one of the 80,000 inhabitants, who were estimated to form the population of Kurrachee at that time. Based on

the experiments that he had made, Colonel Merriman submitted a scheme for bringing the water into Kurrachee by means of stone and iron piping, at a cost of Rs. 1,859,000, which he subsequently reduced to Rs. 1,525,000. Unfortunately before the work could be commenced, the price of iron in England rose to such an extent, that the execution of the project had to be deferred, and although General Merriman undoubtedly deserves the credit of having made the discovery of the Subterranean river, the honour of carrying out his scheme, or a modification of it, belongs to a brother engineer, of the civil branch.

This gentleman is Mr. James Strachan, M.I.C.E., who has had a long experience of Indian work, having held the appointment of Divisional Engineer on the Great India Peninsular, and Bombay and Baroda Railways, before he was nominated Engineer and Secretary to the Kurrachee Municipality in 1873.

Mr. Strachan is a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, a nation that in the days of the Honourable East India Company supplied the greater part of the cadets who entered the military service, and which still sends a large number of her sons to India, but they no longer confine themselves exclusively to that branch, and many of them now adopt careers as civilians in the various departments of Government, and the different sections of commerce.

In point of numbers there are to-day probably more Scotchmen in India than at any other time, for the railways have afforded them a new field of employment, and from the Director General of State Railways to the last engine-driver, the greater part of the Europeans hail from North Britain.

Whether it is consequent on a change of fashion, or whether it is out of compliment to this large number of Scotchmen, I cannot say, but certain it is that *brandy-pānī*, which, one might almost say, for ages was the predominant tipple of our countrymen in India, has completely succumbed to whiskey and *wilāyatī pānī*, or soda-water.

I do not, however, mention this fact in connection with Mr. Strachan, who must require an exceedingly clear brain to conduct successfully the manifold undertakings that demand all his time and attention.

In addition to the ordinary duties of Secretary to the municipality, and of general supervisor of the public property and public interests, the following is a partial list of the works, that the municipal engineer, of Kurrachee has in hand, at one and the same time, with a very

insufficient staff to assist him. To make an extension of the water-works, and to revise a scheme for draining the town. To design and build the new Arts College, the Victoria Museum, the Empress Market, the Merewether Memorial, a hospital at Kiamāri, a new range of Municipal offices, a new Dharm Sālā for travellers, and a number of schools, and other minor works.

It requires an exceedingly good whip to manage such a team as that, but in providing Kurrachee with an ample supply of water, Mr. Strachan has already given proof of what he can do.

Shortly after he took up his appointment, he revived the project of Colonel Merriman, but by proposing to substitute for the costly cast-iron pipes an underground masonry conduit, he reduced the estimated cost of the works from Rs. 1,525,000, to Rs. 1,200,000. Even this figure was considered beyond the means of the Municipality, and to avoid longer delay, a further reduction was made by proposing to defer until a later period the laying of a large twenty-four inch main, and of several sub-mains which formed part of the original scheme.

This reduced the capacity of the main to eight gallons per diem per head of population, but it brought down the cost to within the means of which the Municipality could dispose, viz., Rs. 850,000.

The sanction of Government was eventually given for the construction of the works at this price, but it was not until the 18th February, 1880, that the foundation stone of the distributing reservoir, which is situated about three-quarters of a mile south-east of the Cantonments, was laid by Sir Richard Temple, then Governor of Bombay, who had taken great interest in the undertaking, and urged its commencement with all his influence.

The supply of water is obtained from two wells, situated on the right bank of the Malir, one hundred and seventy-six feet above the sea level, seven miles from the Landi Station of the North-Western Railway, and about sixteen and a half miles in a bee-line from Kurrachee. The wells, forty feet inside diameter, and thirty-six feet in depth, are sunk four hundred feet apart, and at a distance of a thousand feet from the river bank.

The total length of the conduit is sixteen miles twenty chains, covered in for the whole distance, and provided with ventilating shafts and manholes, some placed a mile apart, when the excavation is shallow, and others half a mile apart, when the depth from the surface is above 15 feet. For nine and half miles it has a sectional area

of 7·31 square feet, with a fall of two feet to the mile, and for the remainder the sectional area is 5·62 square feet, with a fall of 3·91 feet per mile. It ends at the distributing reservoir at Kurrachee, which is two hundred feet long by one hundred and fifty feet in width, the water surface being ten feet nine inches above the floor, and 62·35 feet above mean sea-level. This gives fifty-five above the average level of the ground-floor of houses in the native town, and there is therefore sufficient head to supply water to the upper floors of all the houses.

The reservoir is capable of containing 2,000,000 gallons of water, and cost Rs. 67,000.

The works, as projected by Mr. Strachan, were completed in 1883, and opened on the 21st April of that year with great ceremony, by Mr. H. M. Birdwood, Judicial Commissioner in Sind, and afterwards a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, in the absence of Mr. H. N. B. Erskine, then Commissioner in Sind. The total cost up to that time amounted to Rs. 854,973, exceeding only by a small sum the estimate of the engineer, and was paid by the Municipality entirely from funds in hand, but no sooner did the inhabitants learn the value of good water, than they clamoured for an extension of the distributing pipes. To meet the cost of this, and of some other works, the municipality applied to the public for a loan, with the sanction of Government, and a further sum was expended on the extension of pipes, making the total cost Rs. 1,170,265. As the maximum daily supply of water is 2,500,000 gallons, it follows that the cost of twenty gallons per day is a little over Rs. 9.

A tax was imposed in 1885-86 of two per cent. on the assessed annual value of all houses, buildings, and lands within municipal limits, but the Lyāree Quarter, the poor district of the city, was excepted, and those residents who take service pipes into their houses are also exempted. These latter pay a monthly fee according to the size of the connection. The fee for an one inch pipe, connection is Rs. 5, or say 10s. per month, which is considerably less than the rate charged for a ten-roomed house in London, without bathroom, garden or stables, but the good people of Kurrachee can not only afford the luxury of constant ablutions for themselves and their horses, but they may also wash their carriages, and water their gardens for that small monthly payment; and not content with those advantages, several of them have turned their compounds into fields, and irrigate crops of *lucerne* for the maintenance of their beasts of burden.

The municipal engineer left Kurrachee on furlough, to enjoy a well deserved rest, shortly after the completion of his valuable undertaking, and the people, like mice when the cat is away, ran riot, not with the larder, but with the water. A report, whether justified by fact or otherwise I cannot say, was circulated that owing to a dry season and to the want of rain the supply was decreasing, and that during certain hours of the day the mains would be turned off.

This had the effect of making the consumers a little more careful, and of curtailing the outflow, otherwise it is highly probable that joined to the blessing of good clear water, there might have been a serious attack of fever, consequent on the sudden and abundant supply of water, over dry and arid ground.

Probably no large town in the world has been so readily, and so cheaply, provided with an admirable supply of water as Kurrachee. Taking the population at 80,000, the outlay on the works only amounts to £1 9s. per head, and the income for the year 1886-1887 less expenditure on the maintenance establishment, and on repairs (Rs. 5,313-15-8) was Rs. 42,838, or nearly three and three-quarters per cent. on the capital, and it appears likely that an ever increasing revenue may be expected from the sale of water, for in the first year that it commenced, the income was Rs. 10,432, in 1884-1885 Rs. 19,544, in 1885-86, Rs. 24,792, and in 1886-87, Rs. 48,152; these large increases being chiefly due to the extension of the distributing pipes, the cost of which is small as compared with the profit derived.

Europeans and natives, soldiers and civilians, the rich and the poor have all alike to thank Mr. Strachan for the inestimable benefit that, through his efforts, has been conferred upon them, but perhaps the last class has more reason to be grateful than any of the others.

In the old days, however poor a family might be, and however bad the water they had to drink, nevertheless they had to pay the *bhishti* to bring them anything better, but now-a-days the water is brought to their doors. There are six hundred and thirty-five hydrants placed at distances varying from two hundred to four hundred feet, and there are twenty-eight street fountains, ornamental in appearance, and especially adapted for using the large *gharas*, or earthen pitchers in which in eastern lands, water is universally carried from the wells, as has been the case for countless ages. As these jars are very brittle and liable to break against a hard surface, the platform beneath each cock

is lined with wood, hollowed to fit the *ghara*, which rests on it while being filled.

Personal cleanliness is not forgotten, for a plentiful supply of water is provided at the *ghats* or bathing places, of which there are many situated along the Northern bank of the Lyaree.

The *bhishti* with his *pakhāl*, or large leather bag for carrying water, thrown over the back of a bullock, still carries on his trade to outlying places, and for his use special arrangements have been made. There are forty stands for bullock service, each consisting of a horizontal pipe supported on stone pillars of sufficient height and width, to enable the bullock to stand comfortably underneath it. The bhishtī raises a lever, which allows the water to flow by two pipes into the pakhāls, filling them equally at the same time

The stands are pleasing in appearance, which is, however, somewhat destroyed by the universal bill-sticker, who finds the pillars very convenient for plastering up his flaming announcements.

The military and the marine services are both gainers by the water works. Cantonments are amply supplied with water, for which Government pays a sum of about Rs. 8,000 annually, and the prognosticatio. of Sir Charles Napier has been fulfilled, and water is now carried by a six inch branch along the Napier Mole to Kiamāri, a distance of two miles, for the supply of the shipping in the harbour, of the North Western Railway Station, and of the hydraulic machinery on the Piers, along which pipes have also been laid, so that steamers lying alongside can fill their boilers at any time.

It has been remarked by recent visitors that there is already a change in the appearance of Kurrachee, especially in the Civil Lines and Camp, where the residents have been generous with the water, and have constantly irrigated the compounds round their bungalows. The trees have more life, the gardens are greener, the hedges are taller and thicker, and the all pervading burnt-umber hue of the soil is yielding to other colours, and offering a much more pleasing aspect. And the verdure is not confined to the town only, for about two miles outside an irrigation well has been built, and a little oasis has been created around it in the sandy desert. The average daily surplus, amounting to 500,000 gallons of water, is here utilised to irrigate the land, and it is calculatad that there is sufficient to fertilise about 146 acres.

Attempts have recently been made to introduce new grasses with a view to discovering "the fittest," but the result has not been encouraging.

The soil is so greatly impregnated with salt that the grass is killed off in a few weeks, before it has matured and taken a firm hold, and this is especially the case where the ground lies low. Where the ground is high and free from salt, grass has grown fairly well. I think it quite possible that the *pastos fuertes* (coarse grasses) which grow abundantly around the Salt Lakes in the Southern part of the Province of Buenos Ayres (South America) would thrive, and that in course of time soft grasses would spring up among them, as is the case there.

Drainage is on a very small scale, and has been limited to the laying of earthenware pipes, in connection with the main water stand pipes, to carry off all surplus water to the Chinna Creek. An effective system of house drainage, embracing all the populated quarters of the Municipal District, is of paramount importance. The Engineer has, as already stated, a scheme under revision, which, it is believed, will supply the crying want at a cost of about Rs. 700,000. The general scheme has already received the approval of the Corporation, and of the Sanitary Authorities of the Government of Bombay, and it is hoped that a settlement of some details which remain to be discussed, will be speedily arrived at. If Mr. Strachan achieves with this new enterprise a similar success to that which he has obtained from the water works, he will be entitled to claim the distinction of having created on the site of the miserable native village that we occupied in 1839, probably the healthiest city in India, and will prove himself a dangerous foe to that terrible enemy, the cholera, which has frequently visited Kurrachee, and to other malarious diseases.

The Government of India recognised indirectly the great value of the undertaking by conferring on Mr. Atmaram Pritamdaso the title of Rao Bahadur, for services rendered to the Municipality at a time when the scheme for providing fresh water was first under consideration, but Mr. Strachan, who elaborated, supervised, and successfully worked out the project, hardly appears to have received an adequate reward.

It is true that his fellow-townsmen appreciated the services that he had rendered to the city, and that the President of the Municipality proposed "That a bonus of £500 be paid to Mr. Strachan, with the thanks of the Municipality, for his able and zealous services in carrying out the Karachi water supply scheme," a proposition thereupon unanimously carried, but Government's commendation was limited to a brief notice in a despatch of the Public Works Department, Bombay, to the effect that "Government are of opinion that great credit is due to

the Municipal Engineer, Mr. James Strachan, M. Inst. C.E., for the satisfactory manner in which this important project has been carried to completion." Surely the supplying a town of the vast and growing importance of Kurrachee, with fresh, pure water, is a matter of Imperial interest, and the Engineer who effected it, is deserving of some higher mark of Imperial favour than a brief commendation in a dispatch, if only as an encouragement to zealous officers who conduct to a successful issue undertakings of paramount value for the health, and well-being of a teeming native population, and of a large number of European officials, both civil and military.

The street lighting of the town is fairly good. Formerly cocoa-nut oil was used, but in 1870 this was exchanged for Kerosine oil, which is also employed in private houses. There are upwards of 1,000 lamps in the roads and streets, lighted every night, covering a length of over 60 miles, and even the road to Clifton, the fashionable bathing place, distant two miles from the town, is lighted up at certain seasons of the year. Another system of lighting is now under consideration, but the Municipality is fastidious, and cannot decide whether gas or electricity shall be introduced.

The Town Police is under the command of a District Superintendent, who is an Imperial officer, and is paid by Government, the Municipality annually contributing a portion of its income towards the maintenance of the force. Including an Inspector and nine European constables, it consists of 298 men all told, and considering that there has been no increase during the last 20 years in the number of constables, although the population is much greater than at that time, it may be presumed that the force is efficient, and that the inhabitants are quiet and orderly.

According to the report of the Superintendent for the year 1887-1888, the number of cognisable offences in Kurrachee was 845, on which 607 convictions were obtained. Thefts are the most frequent, and numbered 155, and there were also 30 cases of house-breaking, and 5 of murder. Six males committed suicide during the same year, and there were 34 accidental deaths.

The Administration of the Law gives employment to a good many officials, both military and civilians. The Collector and Magistrate, the District and Sessions Judge, and the Cantonment Magistrate are soldiers, and there are in addition a Second Assistant Magistrate, a Judge of the Small Cause Court, a City Magistrate, a Public

Prosecutor, the Superintendent of the Jail, with Registrars and other subordinates, who are all civilians, together with one or two Barristers-at-Law in private practice, three or four Solicitors, and a number of native gentlemen, delegates of the District Matrimonial Court.

A Field Officer of the Indian Staff Corps is generally a man of very large experience; many of them, now in civil employment, have seen service in the field; have commanded regiments; have lived for the greater part of their lives in immediate contact with the native population; and have, to a certain extent, performed magisterial functions. At a turning point in their careers, their services as regimental officers are no longer required, but the Government, mindful that they have faithfully performed their duties, and also regardful of the fact that their Indian allowances must be paid, until they can retire on a pension, assigns them employment in branches of the Imperial Service, where their valuable attainments can still be made available for the benefit of the State. Some are appointed Executive Engineers, others are nominated Garrison Instructors, and a considerable number are placed at the disposal of the Civil Authorities, by whom they are employed on the Revenue Survey, or as Collectors and Magistrates; as City Magistrates, and as District and Sessions Judges.

In these capacities, and in the daily administration of justice, as for example in police cases, and in civil and criminal causes, to the extent of the powers with which they are indued, there is no reason to doubt, that so far as regards the ordinary classes of misdemeanants, and of litigants, their adjudications may generally be accepted as right and equitable; but in District Courts, such as those of Kurrachee, it is perfectly possible that a suit may be instituted against the Government itself, and then arises the question whether a Court, presided over by an Officer of the Staff Corps, is a Court so constituted that implicit confidence can be placed in its decisions.

Elsewhere I have alluded to the Judges of the High Courts, and to the honourable and praiseworthy manner in which their duties are performed; but these gentlemen, appointed by the Crown, are as independent of official interference as their colleagues on the English Bench, and are irremovable, save for very exceptional reasons.

Such is not the case in regard to the gallant gentlemen to whom I have referred. They are absolutely dependent on the good-will towards them of the Government they serve, and should they venture to give a decision unfavourable to their employers, they expose themselves to

very serious results. Of course there is no scandal: no apparent cause of complaint: but the Officer who has incurred the displeasure of his Superiors is quietly removed, and sometimes, so to speak, is *kicked up-stairs*. He is gazetted to another appointment, *nominally* of more importance, and more remunerative, but probably in some other District, where the climate is maliferous, and life is a misery.

Under such circumstances, that the "Court" should sometimes prefer its interests to its conscience is not surprising; and from a home point of view there is unquestionably a grave defect in its constitution; but it cannot be denied that transfers are made not unfrequently in India of unpliable District Magistrates, and in Kurrachee there has been more than one flagrant case.

CHAPTER VIII.

DAK BUNGALOWS: TRAMWAYS: PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

WE left Kurrachee at the Chabūtrā or Custom House. Proceeding for about five hundred yards, the visitor reaches the junction, of the Bunder and the McLeod, Roads. At this corner, the finest site in Kurrachee *proper*, there is, in course of erection, and quickly approaching completion, an imposing and handsome building, designed for a warehouse, store, or other industrial purpose, on strictly modern English principles. It is the outcome of the frequent visits of Mr. H. J. Rustomjee, a leader of the local Parsee mercantile world, to London, and is the first of those palaces of which Kurrachee is to become a future city. The Bandar road runs for two and three-quarter miles in a straight line, in a direction N.E. by E. until it emerges at the Quarter Guard, on to a large plain, which is the General Parade Ground; while the McLeod Road diverges due East for one mile thirty-three chains, until it strikes the Kutchery road, which forms the direct route to Government House and "camp."

Taking first the Bandar Road we come upon an open space, the old Muhammadan Cemetery, of which mention has been previously made, and next to it is the cattle market; then follow the Municipal Godown, the Boulton Market, and the Max Denso Hall, situated at the corner of the Napier Road, and 1,667 yards from the McLeod Junction. On the opposite side of the road, that is to say on the right hand looking towards "camp," we have the Agra Bank, at the corner of Wood Street; the Police Office, the Dispensary, the Vernacular or native school, which may all be regarded as public buildings, together with a number of merchants' offices, shipping agencies, and cotton presses. The triangle, nearly equilateral, of which the Bandar, McLeod and Kutchery Roads form the sides, is clearly the quarter that the commercial world appropriated to itself, when Kurrachee was acquired, just in the same way that the military world

took possession of a suitable site, somewhat further removed from the city. In this triangle are situated two banking establishments, branches of the Bank of Bombay, and of the National Bank of India, Limited in addition to the Agra, already mentioned. Here are the General Post Office, the extensive buildings of the Telegraph Department, the Chamber of Commerce, the offices of the leading European merchants and Steam Shipping Companies, with numerous cotton presses and godowns, and in the midst of all this movement created by the advent of Western foreigners, stand two buildings of eastern origin, the Kafila Serai and a Hindū Temple.

It is true that both these buildings are comparatively new, having been built in 1873-74, but the present Serai is simply a reconstruction on the site of the old one that had existed for many years, and had been assigned to the Afghāns, a turbulent race, whose Kafilas came down to Kurrachee and whom the quieter folk of the town thought well to keep at a safe distance from their city gates, and therefore appointed an open space outside of them as their temporary resting place.

Annexed to the triangle, and situated on its McLeod side, are the domiciles of local authority, and of Imperial Justice, the Municipal Offices, and the Sudder or High Court; and within a stone's throw is the sea-board terminus of the great trunk line, the North Western (State) Railway of India, the vast importance of which has hardly yet been appreciated, and, perhaps, never will be until there comes the inevitable struggle for the Empire.

Starting from Max Denso Hall, and again following the Bandar Road towards Camp, we have on our left a large walled building, the Jail, with its factory and workshops. They cover a considerable area and took a long time to complete, for the necessity of a jail was first discovered in 1846, shortly after our advent, but the Public Works Department did not complete the structure until 1868. It is a *bonâ fide* working jail, where the inmates do something for their living, and towards paying for their maintenance. They make tents, mats, carpets, baskets, and other articles, which fetch a fair price, and which being deducted from the expenses, reduces the cost of each prisoner to about Rs. 55 per annum, after making allowance for the salaries of officials, and for clothing, repairs and contingencies.

The total number of prisoners confined in all the jails of the Bombay Presidency (including Sind) during 1887 was 18,816 males and 1,097 females, and the daily average was 5,320 males and 196

females. The gross cost of maintenance was Rs. 73:13:11 per prisoner, and the profit from each of them was Rs. 22:2:1, but it is a circumstance worthy of remark that the Queen's Jubilee had the effect of diminishing the receipts, for of the 2,465 prisoners who were released through Her Majesty's clemency, many were in for long terms, and during their incarceration had become skilled weavers and clever workmen. Their remunerative labour was consequently lost, but it is satisfactory to add that only fifty-nine returned to prison during the year. In the immediate neighbourhood of the jail are the Government High School, an Anglo-Vernacular School, the native Public Library, and the Government Book Depôt, behind which, on the Mission Road, stands the Civil Hospital. With the Book Depôt, Kurrachee, as a commercial town, may be said to have terminated; beyond it, with the exception of the Sudder, the different quarters are more thinly populated, and are spread over a much larger area. On both sides of the road are large tanks, the Runchore, the Rāmbāgh, and the Rutton, the former being on the north, close to the lines bearing the same name, while the two latter are on the south, bordering an open space, in which are situated the arsenal and the artillery lines.

On the upper part of the Bandar road, the tramway horses very rarely have to stop, either to "take up," or "set down," for this portion is thinly populated, and the only buildings of any importance are the "Small Cause Court," erected in 1855-6, by the Public Works Department for an engineering school, and adapted in 1861 to its present purpose, the Travellers' Bungalow and the Tramway Depôt. The bungalow is situated in a large compound on the main road, five hundred yards beyond the fourth milestone from Kiamāri, and opposite to the Preedy Road. It is a building of considerable size, containing a large number of sleeping apartments, with a good sized general dining-room. The very existence of a public apartment of this description shows at once the change that has taken place in the character of the Dāk or Travellers' Bungalow. That at Kurrachee, as is the case to-day in almost all the large cities and centres of trade throughout India, is nothing more than a second-class "Commercial Inn." The old-fashioned windowless bungalow, with its walls bare except for the printed regulations, its want of any ordinary convenience, and of any food, except a lot of scraggy, half-starved, tough *murghis*, running about the *compound*, is now only to be found in distant and out-of-the-way places.

Dharm sālās and *sarāes* for the use of indigenous travellers have existed in India, as in all eastern countries, from time immemorial, but it is not so easy to say when the first rest-house for foreigners was established.

When once the Europeans were firmly seated in India, they commenced to send missions, both political and commercial, to the surrounding States, and to the powerful princes who ruled them. These missions were generally the precursors, as history has shown, of annexation and spoliation, but they were usually courteously received, and the members forming them were assigned a residence, during their stay. When another mission arrived, as it was sure to do, for when once the foreigners had got a footing they never receded, the same house was offered to them, and so in course of time it came to be regarded as the European sarāe. Sometimes it was used as a Political Residency, at others as a Factory, or trading centre, but in either case it became necessary to maintain communication between it, and the nearest seat of European Government. This was done by means of *dāks*, relays of horses, or of palki-bearers, which were placed at distances of fifteen to twenty miles, but sometimes so far apart as forty to fifty miles, the night journey of a *pālkī*. In those days there were neither inns nor hotels, but it was necessary that the traveller should know where to find a change of horses, or of bearers, and also that there should be some place where he could rest, after a long and wearying march.

To take up his residence in the house of a native was neither convenient to himself nor to the owner, and so the Government, that is to say the Honourable East India Company, stepped forward, and established *dāk-chaukis* and *aāk-ghars* for the temporary comfort of its servants. But it was soon found that there were people who abused the privilege afforded them, and who turned the Rest-house into a permanent home, and so regulations were formulated, and affixed to the walls of every room in the building, which was usually erected on the principle that has been generally adopted by Europeans, as most suited to the climate, that of the *banglā*, or cottage with a thatched roof, which is commonly known as a *bungalow*.

These regulations allowed to each traveller the use of a room, with a bed, a chair, a table, and a bath, at a cost of Rs. 2 per day, for two days, but at the end of that period he was bound to vacate his room, if it should be demanded by a fresh arrival.

I was myself only recently a victim to the regulations which are now passing into desuetude, but which were enforced against me with a good deal of rigour, for I had not even occupied my room for the limited period that they allow.

I had arrived at the Travellers' Bungalow, Hydrabād (Sind), one Friday morning, and on Saturday night was sleeping calmly, in preparation for the novel experience of a long ride on camel-back, but unfortunately the Calcutta Mail train arrives at Kotrī, the station for Hydrabād, at 13 o'clock, and still more unfortunately it brought travellers who wanted accommodation at the Bungalow, and who arrived there at 2 a.m. to find it full.

My name stood first on the list of inmates, as I had been the earliest arrival, and I soon heard it shouted out in stentorian tones that reverberated through the building. On inquiring for what reason I was awakened, an explanation was given me, and my informant courteously added that he was accompanied by a lady, otherwise he would not have disturbed me.

"Place aux dames" is a command not to be evaded, especially in India, and I bundled out to a shake-down that the Bearer, with the agility and readiness of his class, at once put together under the alcove. The new arrivals were a Dr. Hunter and his wife, and although unaware of the fact at the time, I have since been informed that the gentleman who summoned me, was the Director General of Statistics to the Government of India, and is now Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the distinguished editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and Director of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford. I avail myself of this opportunity for thanking Sir William and Lady Hunter for their courtesy to me on my return from Umerkot.

But such an occurrence now-a-days is extremely rare; even where the dāk-bungalow with its regulations is still to be found, there are besides, in almost all the large towns and cities of India, hotels to which travellers resort in preference; it is, however, not uncommon to see an encampment made in the compound of the bungalow, for frequently an official on duty in the *mofussil* or district, carries with him the tents requisite to afford shelter to himself, his family, and their attendants.

The tenant or caterer at Kurrachee pays a rental to the Municipality, and acts as an inn or hotel-keeper. To the furniture allowed by Government, he has added some couches and other conveniences; he presents you with a bill of fare, and will supply you with liquids from

bottled beer to champagne. I have no information as to the profits of the business, but Kurrachee, until very recently, was deplorably deficient in hotel accommodation, and so probably he does a fair trade. The visitors' book is no longer obligatory, and the regulations have been removed from the walls, which are now adorned with highly coloured, although not very artistic, German prints of the Empress of India, and her eldest son.

Progressing 300 yards still towards camp, we come upon the Depôt of an undertaking which has now become established as an important institution of Kurrachee, namely, the Tramway. A large compound covered in every direction with heavy rails and "points and crossings," and containing three galvanized iron-roofed *godowns*, together with offices and quarters for servants, forms the head-quarters of the East India Tramways Company, Limited. One line is covered with trollies and bogie-waggons, a second is the means of conducting under cover of one of the godowns half a dozen locomotives, and on the third stand a number of carriages adapted for service on a steam Tramway, while in the immediate vicinity there is coach-room for fifteen or sixteen cars, and stabling for sixty to seventy horses to draw them.

The co-working of locomotives and horses, has never, to my knowledge, proved successful, and their co-existence on the same tramway is anomalous, and demands a short explanation.

The Kurrachee tramway scheme owes its origin, like most other improvements in the town, to the forethought and unwearying energy of the Municipal Secretary and Engineer, Mr. James Strachan.

He conceived the idea, and in 1881 Mr. Edward Mathews, of London, tendered for the construction of the line, but it was not until 1883 that all details were settled, and that the sanction of Government to the use of steam power was obtained. The works were commenced in October, 1884, and the line was opened for public traffic on the 20th April of the following year. The inaugural ceremony was imposing—a train of carriages, carrying a precious freight, among whom may be mentioned the late Commissioner in Sind, Mr. Henry Napier B. Erskine, J.P., on whose breast fell a well-won star during the Jubilee year, for he had rendered long and good services to the public in general, and in particular to Kurrachee; the Commanding Officer of the Sind District, Brigadier-General G. Luck, C.B., with his daughter; the Assistant Commissioner, Dr. J. Pollen, B.A., LL.D., who for a long time will be remembered by his fellow townsmen on account of the

great amiability of his character, and of his constant and successful endeavours to afford them amusement and instruction; His Highness Shere Ali Khān, ex-Wali of Kandahar, with his staff; and a number of representatives of all branches of society, proceeded under convoy of a locomotive to Kiamāri, and thence returned to the Scotch Church, in the neighbourhood of which marquees had been erected. Here refreshments were offered, and here were made the speeches suited to the occasion. The Commissioner pointed out that the line at Kurrachee was the first *steam* tramway in Western India, and that it was designed not only for the carriage of passengers but also of goods, and he hoped that its use for the latter purpose would tend to relieve the *overcrowded* roads. When Mr. Erskine spoke he was probably in ignorance of the intentions of the Government as to what would happen, so soon as the Scinde Punjaub and Delhi Railway should become the property of the State, or if he was in possession of the knowledge, official reticence compelled him to maintain silence; he simply suggested that the tramway might be the means of facilitating the shipment of grain from the Merewether pier, then in course of construction, and from the Native Jetty, from which, up to that time, it had always been despatched in native boats for transshipment in the outer harbour. For this purpose rails had been laid down by the Tramway Company in the Godowns of Messrs. Ralli Bros., A. McHinch & Co., Volkart Bros., and others, and also along the jetty, so that the grain might be conveyed directly from their warehouses to the boat's side; but the career of the tramway as a steam line was very brief, for it soon became known that the railway would be prolonged down the Napier Mole to Kiamāri, a route that its predecessor the Scinde Railway had previously occupied but abandoned, and would monopolise the whole of the goods traffic; and for the carriage of passengers alone it was evident that horses would suffice for the work, and were much cheaper than locomotives fired with coke, which had to be shipped from England at a great expense, as Kurrachee could not afford any supplies, and in Bombay local demands required the whole output of the gas works. Within a few months, therefore, steam had disappeared, to the great satisfaction of the residents, as has been already mentioned; the locomotives and carriages adapted to them were shunted into the depôt, while light one-horse cars took their place upon the dusty roads.

With diminished grandeur, but with equal usefulness, the tramway

has now become an institution of Kurrachee, the loss of which would, to say the least, cause the very greatest inconvenience.

To make tramways profitable the service must be frequent and continuous. Cars should be light, and adapted to the carriage of a small number of persons: but they should follow quickly one after another; and, perhaps, this rule applies even more to India than to England. At home the main object of a tramway traveller is to save time in the transit from one point to another, probably at some distance, at a very small cost. In India economy of time is of very small importance to the native, but there are other causes which induce him to afford his constant patronage to the tramway. The hot sun, a casual shower of rain, his dislike to physical exertion, and, perhaps, more than all, his *liking for a ride* are the reasons that induce him to expend one or two *pies*. The distance he has to travel may be only 400 or 500 yards, and he will pass a tramcar at his starting point without entering it; but he has only proceeded a third of his journey, with the hot sun pouring on him, when the car catches him up. It looks cool and pleasant, and he is tempted and succumbs. He takes his seat, and for two-thirds of his journey he pays the same fare as he would have done for the whole.

The steam train bustled through the town with a great noise and clatter once every quarter of an hour; in that time the pedestrian would have made his journey, and even if it caught him up, he was timid about bringing the great monster to a halt. But the modest horse-car jogs peacefully along, and seems to invite him to enter as it quietly draws up where he is standing. The native population has shown its appreciation of the new system, and more than twice the total number of inhabitants is now carried every month.

There is, therefore, every reason to expect that the tramways will grow and progress in proportion to the increase of the population and the extension of the town. But they were badly commenced, have been badly treated during their existence, and have now to meet a strong and unexpected opposition, on the part of Government itself.

I am not aware that the monied men of Kurrachee ever combined to found one single institution in that town. I cannot call to mind one Limited Liability Company of which the capital was subscribed there. There are several industrial companies, nominally belonging to Kurrachee, but the money came from Bombay. The Tramway should have been a purely local undertaking, and was said, in the local papers, when

at last it was made, to have been the "dream of years," and "to have been long wanted in the town." But the townspeople were satisfied with dreaming, and were apparently content to wait. Their own Engineer, on whom they could place every reliance, recommended the scheme, and they were informed that their wants could be supplied, and that a tramway, suitable to all their requirements, could be constructed at a cost of about £40,000, on which capital they would now be earning a good rate of interest. But, with their usual want of combination, with that laxity and flaccidity that attaches to every action of the mercantile world of Kurrachee, whether it relates to the erection of a monument, or to the construction of a railway across India, they simply let the business glide out of their hands, into those of contractors and public promoters.

The usual result followed. An ordinary horse tramway, for the convenience of persons residing in the town and suburbs, was developed into a Light Railway for the carriage of goods and passengers. The unassuming local name of the undertaking was transmogrified into the high-sounding title of "The East India Tramways Company," and instead of £40,000, upwards of £100,000 have been invested in the business. The money actually expended upon the construction was doubtless legitimate, and the works were carried out under thoroughly honest auspices, and are peculiarly solid and substantial. The engineer was Mr. John Brunton, whose name had long been known in Kurrachee in connection with the Scinde Railway, constructed under his superintendence. The permanent way materials (the rail being 70 lbs. to the yard) were supplied by the well-known firm of Messrs. Bolling and Lowe, of London; the engines by Messrs. Kitson and Co., of Leeds; the rolling stock by the Starbuck Car and Wagon Company, of Birkenhead; and the contractors, who carried out the construction with great care and expedition, were Messrs. Mathews and Crawford, the former being the original concessionnaire.

The hard treatment which the tramway has suffered during its existence comes from a quarter from which encouragement ought rather to have been expected, namely, the Government of India.

It has already been mentioned that the lines of the Scinde, Punjaub, and Delhi Railway were formerly laid down along the Napier Mole Road, but were removed when a bridge was substituted for the mound of earth crossing the Chinna Creek, near the Custom-House; and that the construction of a new bridge solely for the use of the Railway having

been considered too costly, it was decided to relay the lines round the eastern side of Mangrove Swamp. It, therefore, happened that when the Tramway put in an appearance, it not only found the Mole unoccupied, but it, moreover, received a friendly welcome from the then authorities of the Railway, who had no object in opposing its construction, and who foresaw that no harm, but rather benefit, would result from its being made. The Public Works Department also appear to have considered that it would prove of advantage, for, in recommending that further outlay should not be made on the Native Jetty, the Secretary pointed out that no inconvenience would arise to the mercantile community of Kurrachee consequent on the removal of the shipping further from that town, as the Tramway would furnish an easy means of transit to Kiamāri.

But the welcome of its predecessor, and the advantages of the tramway, were alike forgotten when the Government and the North Western Railway Department succeeded to power. The bridge, too costly for the Scinde Railway Company, was a mere trifle to the Government, the rights of the Tramway Company must yield to "Imperial necessity;" and that company could have no possible cause of complaint, "provided there was no interference with their rails." So the fiat went forth that the railway should be extended; the bridge was raised, an embankment constructed parallel to the Mole on its eastern side, on which the rails were laid; and close to the "Cotton Presses" these gracefully curved *across* the tramway, and proceeded along the western flank to the new wharves at Kiamāri. The railway crossing is cleverly managed, the pair of rails move on a hinge, so that they can be raised when not required, and lowered whenever a train is about to pass. In the opinion of H.M. Principal Secretary of State for India this does not constitute an interference with the rails, but in the opinion of one of H.M. Counsel learned in the law, the act of laying down the cross-rails is a trespass, and if we were treating of ordinary home life, we should add that the placing an obstacle on a tramway or railway, which might be the means of causing a serious accident, is an indictable offence. In India such matters are of no importance; "Imperial necessity" is a plea that assures to any one, entitled to make use of it, a verdict of "Not guilty," and the weakest goes to the wall.

There can be no doubt that the extension of the railway to Kiamāri is of paramount importance; it is creditable to the Government of India because it shows that the value of Kurrachee as a port, and

especially as one for the disembarkation of troops and stores has at last been recognised; it is acceptable to the inhabitants because it will facilitate trade, and tend to make the place a great shipping emporium; and when in the course of time the Mango Swamp shall have been recovered, to form the site of that new town which Sir Charles Napier, half a century ago, prognosticated would arise, the tramway may then receive its share of the traffic resulting from the largely increased population, as a small consolation for the loss it has at present sustained.

It is difficult to defend the action of the North Western Railway, authorised by the Government of India, and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council, in wantonly trespassing on private property, in riotously driving its coach through an Act of the Imperial Government, and in wilfully infringing the Company's rights. I fear that I have dwelt upon this subject at too great a length, but the case of the tramway of Kurrachee is one of principle, and has a most direct bearing on the desire so frequently expressed by the Secretary of State at public meetings, and at city banquets, and by the Parliamentary Under Secretary in the House of Commons: to see British capitalists and investors turn their attention to India, as a market in which they might employ their funds with profit to themselves and benefit to the country. The above example is not encouraging!

I do not question the honesty of the wish expressed by officials of the India Office, but I very much doubt whether that wish would be supported by the Government in India, whether the Public Works Department would hail with joy the advent of a number of joint stock companies, having for their object the construction of sanitary works in the great cities, and of tramways and light railways as feeders to the trunk lines, and above all, of railways themselves. The initiatory difficulties in obtaining permission to commence the works would be nearly overwhelming, and the concessionnaire must be prepared to make allowances for a system of bribery or black-mail, not of individuals, but of corporate bodies. In almost every district he will encounter three, and sometimes four, institutions, the Local Board, the Municipality, the Cantonment Authorities, and on the coast a Harbour Board or a Port Trust.

In any work of continuity, as for example the laying of pipes or of rails, it is quite possible that the contractor will have to encroach upon every one of the properties under the control of these institutions.

With each one he will meet with difficulties, and to each one he will have to make some concession. In one case an annual rental will be demanded, in a second he must macadamize a road, in a third he must pay a heavy way-leave, and I remember one instance where the condition imposed was that a main drain should be constructed, some miles in length, right through a town. It is perfectly just that the civic institutions and their constituents should not be the losers through the construction of any public work, but then no public work ought to be permitted, unless some benefit will be derived from it. Take for example the making of a tramway. It is presumed that it will be a convenience to the general public, and any detriment to the roads is amply guarded against by enforcing conditions that they shall be maintained in proper repair. Why then should a heavy tax or way-leave be laid upon it? The public has reaped a double benefit, the thoroughfares are kept in better order, and the means of locomotion are rendered easier; the local treasury may suffer, I will allow, a slight loss, in that the payments of licences on public vehicles will decrease if the tramway be successful, as it will drive them off the road, and that loss, though in all probability only temporary, should be made good, but a way-leave of Rs. 500 to Rs. 700 per annum on every mile of permanent way for an interminable period of years, is simply an imposition.

Rising above the question of tramways, let us for a moment turn our attention to branch lines, or feeders to the great railways of India. Here another difficulty is to be encountered, and one that cannot be conquered by paying a rental or a way leave.

All over India, so universally that it is unnecessary to particularize cases, there are large villages and cities situated within say 100 miles of a main State Railway, with which a junction would be an inestimable boon to the cities or villages, and to which the connection with them would bring a greatly increased and profitable traffic. There is no question about the fact, the very officials will allow it. They will help you with their practical and local knowledge, they will strengthen your statistics, they will confirm your own views, on the advantage of your proposal, and they will end by putting the pertinent inquiry, "Why should we recommend or further your project, that will entail upon us a vast amount of extra work, without any extra remuneration?" Pertinent it is, and it is also unanswerable.

If with the united and extraordinary efforts of a number of Government Engineers and other officials, at the imaginary junctions to

which I have referred, the surplus dividend of say the East Indian Railway Company should be raised in any one half year from two to four per cent, would they derive any benefit from it?—would the holders of deferred annuities, who now conduct the railway, vote them a bonus, or propose to double their salaries? I am afraid that their acts of supererogation would hardly be appreciated to that extent. The majority of the Railway Officials belong to that large and valuable body of Indian servants which has received the misapplied title of "The uncovenanted Civil Service." They all enter that service under contract, they are entitled to fixed rates of pay, and also to pensions regarding which they have a grievance that has recently been sifted in the House of Commons, but they have absolutely nothing to gain by the performance of duties other than those, which are distinctly assigned to them. It is possible that here and there an official will be found willing to sacrifice his health and comfort, and to take upon himself extraneous obligations for the benefit of the public, but the combined action of a large body of men in that direction, is opposed to human nature.

The utmost that he can expect is promotion in the service, but promotion comes slowly, and marches in fixed grooves, from which it is not easy to swerve, for it must be remembered that in a settled roll of officials, the sudden jump of one individual, may cause detriment to the interests of a large number of persons over whose head he passes. In the service of a *Public*, that is to say, *Non-Governmental* Company, his position would be different. If by his energy, activity, and foresight, he should succeed in returning such augmented traffic receipts as would permit of a higher dividend being declared, there can be little doubt that the shareholders would sanction any award that the directors might recommend in recognition of his services, but the hands of Government are tied, they can make no individual exceptions, nor can they dispose of public funds in return for the performance of supererogatory duties, except under very extraordinary circumstances.

It is quite possible that in this difference of procedure between the Railway Department of the Indian Government and Public Companies, lies the antipathy of the former to the latter. The servant of the company has no expectation of a pension, but he may receive a better salary than his colleague in Government service, and moreover, while still in harness, he may find, every now and then, that his exertions on behalf of the shareholders have been acknowledged in a substantial

manner; the Government railway official must plod along on his fixed monthly allowance, without any chance of luck falling at his feet, but with the guarantee of his employers that at the end of a long period of service he will become entitled to a pension of indeterminable value, a value dependent on the war that still has to be waged between the bimetallists and the monometallists, and on many other causes. Under such circumstances it should not be a matter of surprise that the pick of Government Railway men display a decided preference for private employment.

Then again, you have another department which controls those of the Railways and of Public Works, and in fact every other Department of Government. The Department of Finance and Commerce. The Indian Government, as we know, recently converted its 4 per cent. Stock at home into 3½ per cent., and still more recently it has borrowed money at three per cent., which it can easily lend again in India at 4½ per cent. This is the case at Kurrachee, where the Port trust is bound for the next 30 years to raise by Port dues, sufficient money to pay interest at the rate of 4½ per cent., on a loan which the Government obtained at a rate certainly not higher than 4 per cent., and in several other places a similar financial arrangement has been made, whereby the State derives a benefit which would be sacrificed, should an English Company become the lender.

The influx into India of a large number of powerful associations, founded and formed in London, would undoubtedly be a source of inconvenience to the Government. Their Boards of Directors would be formed of wealthy citizens, with a voice in the House of Commons, or with influence that could be brought to bear in that august assembly. The complaints of one Board would be supported by the representatives of others, and the Parliamentary Under Secretary would be overwhelmed with questions, to which the stereotyped plea of "Imperial necessity" would scarcely be considered a satisfactory answer. So perhaps the Government has reason on its side, and is wise in prescribing rules and regulations with a view to placing difficulties in the path of applicants for concessions or privileges, and to restricting its own power and that of its subordinates, to grant them.

One series of rules, mainly directed against Corporate Bodies and Public Companies, was promulgated on the 20th October, 1888, and was the result of a dispatch "concerning restrictions on the power of Local Governments to enter into contracts involving liabilities on the State,"

signed by the very Secretary of Her Majesty who is so desirous of encouraging the employment of British Capital in India.

Of these rules the following is a brief summary :—

No. 1 ordains that in those cases where it is considered expedient to grant concessions which create any exclusive privilege, the deed of concession must be so framed that it will be beyond the power of the Concessionnaire to transfer his rights, without the sanction of the Government.

No. 2 relates that whenever it is considered expedient that the concession or exclusive privilege should be placed in the hands of a Joint-Stock Company, the circumstances must be reported to the Government of India before the concession is finally made.

No. 3 limits the power of Local Governments to grant concessions for a period of five years only, unless powers have been unconditionally reserved to Government in the contracts to terminate them at their own will.

No. 4 has reference to the expenditure of funds, and prohibits the Local Governments from undertaking the execution of works which involve an expenditure exceeding a lakh of rupees altogether, or a yearly sum of 5,000 rupees.

No. 5 allows of a modification of No. 3, to meet particular classes of cases, in which application of that rule would be unadvisable.

And No. 6 refers all agreements and concessions to the consideration of the Judicial Department, and of the highest legal adviser to the Local Government.

If these rules had been dictated for the purpose of preventing the launching of bogus and spurious companies in India *itself*, the Government would have only shown a fatherly interest in the wellbeing of native investors, for it has been ascertained that every second Joint-Stock Association, founded in that Empire, has proved a failure, and that the whole number of companies that have been registered is 1,961, of which only 910 were working at the end of 1888; but they equally apply to associations formed in England for carrying on business in India, and for these the necessity of such paternal care is not apparent.

The failure of an internal company will probably create distrust in trade, and bring disaster on a number of natives in proportion to its magnitude; but the failure of a company, of which the shareholders are foreigners, and the capital is external, has by no means the same effect. On the contrary, a company formed in the exterior may fail, and may

entail great loss on the subscribers to its capital, but may nevertheless benefit the country in which it was intended to operate, for a considerable portion of that capital, or of the plant purchased with it, will remain there, and may be utilized for other purposes. Nor is it clear that any necessity existed for imposing greater restrictions on the formation of Companies in England for working in India, out of regard to the interests of the natives of that country. It is not a field that has been taken up for exploitation or spoliation by promoters, and company makers in London, and it may be added that native investors are too keen to be easily plundered.

This very fact may to some extent account for the non-success of Limited Liability Companies in India. The native investor is somewhat like the *cheetah*, if I may be pardoned the simile. If the hunting leopard, in his first bound, fails to grapple the antelope, it is very difficult to bring him to the scratch again. If the native capitalist in his first venture fails to get a return for his money, he incurs no further risk, perhaps wisely, and the company is wound up.

The English investor is different, and if I may again be pardoned the simile, has more resemblance to the *bull-dog*. The animal dashes at the bull's nose, and even if he be tossed, he will make another attempt provided his strength permit. The subscriber to a public company is informed that no dividend can be declared, but that if he will put a little more money into the concern, everything will come right. Probably and perhaps unwisely, he does so, and makes the second dash. But *there* is the difference—of 2,000 Indian Companies 50 per cent. are wound up at once—in England half of that percentage would be allowed another chance.

Nor have companies founded in England been wanting in success in India, speaking of them generally. There have been disastrous banking failures, which at the time of their occurrence caused great distress, and of which the memory is still alive, but on the other hand there are several now doing a fair business, and there are many undertakings for the construction of railways, for the plantation of tea, and even for the working of mines, the most risky of all businesses, which have proved by no means unremunerative.

Assuredly there must be something wrong when the Secretary of State for India appeals ineffectually to his countrymen for capital to be applied to the development of an important part of the Empire, at a time when that capital is ready for investment, but is being diverted to

all sorts of projects in far-away corners of the world in which we have no other interest, than that of gaining interest on our money.

In the first half of the present year millions of pounds have been subscribed to public companies formed in England for carrying on undertakings in the Argentine Republic, in Uruguay, and in Paraguay, and during that period the number of public companies that have been registered, having any relation with India, can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and their whole capital amounts to a few thousands. Is the security offered by the Government at Buenos Ayres, at Montevideo, or at Asuncion, better than that of Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State in Council, or what are the causes that induce not only rash speculators, but the sober trading communities of the great cities of England, to invest largely in South American undertakings sometimes with, and sometimes without, a guarantee of interest? It may be mentioned that every one of the States to which I have referred has been at one time or another "in default," and therefore some idea can be formed of the value of their guarantees, but they are not dependent on them for a cheerful response to their appeals for money; it is subscribed as quickly for a private Brewery, or a worthless scheme of sanitary improvements, as it is for a State Railway.

It is difficult to account for the hesitancy and inaction of the British public in the matter of Indian investments, other than State Loans and guaranteed railways, but I think that the feeling must be ascribed to the conduct of the Government itself. It is autocratic and bureaucratic, and is never, "in touch," with the great financial houses of Europe. It cannot bend, and it would be derogatory to its exalted and sublime position, to call into its Councils representatives of banking and commercial establishments, as, on some occasions, has been done by First Lords of the Treasury, and Chancellors of the Exchequer. It is probable that the Rothschilds, the Barings, and other leading financiers are more frequently consulted by the Russian, the Brazilian, and the Argentine Governments, and even by that of the United States, and by our own Home and Foreign Offices, than they are by the India Office. This want of condescension, of *savoir vivre*, is, to a certain extent, resented by the financial kings. As neither their advice nor assistance is asked for, they do not thrust them forward, but maintain a natural reserve; and their example is imitated by the lesser luminaries of the commercial world. If there be that splendid field for British investments, that the Secretary of State assures us is lying barren in India, why should it not be offered to

our great capitalists for cultivation? If one of these great firms would submit for public subscription any undertaking which merited their support, their example would be quickly followed by smaller fry, and our breakfast-tables would be covered with Indian, instead of Argentine prospectuses. But the fact cannot be disguised that a vein of distrust runs through the whole commercial body. They make no direct charge against the Government of India, but they think it quite possible that contracts and agreements might easily be disregarded in cases of "Imperial necessity." It is quite right that it should be so. In the petty States of Central and South America, whenever a civil war occurs—an event which is now, happily, less frequent than in former years—sheep, horses, and horned cattle are at once seized to supply the opposing forces. There is no appeal. An armed party arrives, and carries them off before the owners' eyes; but so soon as the war is ended a demand for compensation is made, and is almost invariably attended to. My own property has frequently been confiscated in this arbitrary manner, but, ultimately, I have always been generously compensated.

In India, where, at any time, there may be a war, not of noisy politicians, fighting for a dogma, but of Empires battling for existence;—in India, where an "Imperial necessity" may easily arise, the Government should, undoubtedly, have the right of seizing, not only cattle, but tramways, railways, and everything else that could be utilized in the public defence. But whenever peace is restored it is to be presumed that the sufferers would be compensated. And until peace be disturbed it would be well that the Government should refrain from using too frequently the "Imperial necessity" plea, and raising at unseemly hours the cry of wolf! wolf!

With the cessation of the Government of the Honourable East India Company, and the proclamation of Her Majesty as transferee of all the territories and rights that they had possessed, it was supposed that India would be actually thrown open to trade, as it had been nominally in 1813; but, as a fact, the present administration moves on exactly the same lines as its predecessor.

Rules and regulations were then made, with the object of preventing the intrusion of rivals in commerce; and were justly made, for the world-renowned Corporation was simply a great Company dependent on its trade, with unlimited liability. Rules and regulations are now made without any regard to share or stock-holders, for there are none who

possess any influence; it is simply requisite to balance the Budget and to make the two ends meet. To those points Indian legislation is now chiefly confined, and the Parliamentary representatives of the Government have a difficult task whenever Indian questions are raised in the *House*. In the matter of the Contagious Diseases Act they ignominiously struck their colours; in that of the Liquor question they showed the white feather; and as regards the duty on Opium, the mainstay of the revenue, they are displaying a very weak front to a few ill-advised, but noisy, innovators. It is perfectly true that in legislative acts which refer solely to India, and to the protection of the natives of that country, they are allowed a certain latitude, and that in that respect they perform their duty. But why should it still be prohibited that a foreigner should remain beyond a certain period in a native state? and why should the administration of that State be forbidden to enter into negociations with English promoters, speculative or otherwise?

Sir Lepel Griffin, in his paper on "The Native Princes of India and their Relations with the British Government," recently read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, referred to the shameless manner in which Hyderabad (Deccan) and its mining concessions were thrown into the English money market in 1887, and ascribed the financial scandals of that State to the fact that the employment of Europeans is not prohibited as elsewhere, and that it is overrun with adventurers of an especially bad type. Moreover he tells us "that a careful study of the case would somewhat enlighten students as to Oriental and European methods of financial operations, but it would not tell them the whole story nor reveal the absolute and normal corruption of officials in a native state where honesty was practically unknown."

Bribery and corruption are, doubtless, very immoral; but India is not the only country where they exist; and adventurers of an "especially bad type" are to be found in other places besides Hyderabad. And what, after all, was the result of the so-called "Deccan scandal"? Who were the sufferers? Sir Lepel Griffin says that the British Government should stand between the unjust prince and his subjects, with a view to the protection of the latter. Has it been shown at all that the subjects had any grievance on account of these mining concessions? If so, why were they not protected by the Resident? It would seem that one official became possessed of great wealth out of the transaction, but that wealth was not drawn from the people of the Deccan, but from the pockets of English shareholders, who appear to be quite

contented with their lot, and whose securities improved in value after the facts of the case were made known.

In the very same paper Sir Lepel Griffin recommends a seemingly forced appropriation of land in Cashmere, but this is to be carried through, under the arbitration and assessment of a board, composed of English and Cashmere officials. It is to be a Government transaction. But why should not any private individual or public company be permitted to treat for the purchase of land in Cashmere, directly with the Executive of that country?

There seems to be an overweening idea that no one can be trusted but the Indian Government; that the native merchants will be taken in and done for by the English Company-mongers; who will obtain valuable concessions, and make an enormous profit by their sale at home. But if they do make that profit I cannot see that India will suffer.

It is said that the series of rules promulgated in October last, that I have summarized, has reference only to contracts involving liability on the State. Let this be granted; and, furthermore, let it be conceded that it is a wise step carefully to examine the conditions of a concession, and to submit its terms to the consideration of the Judicial Department, and of the highest legal adviser to the Local Government. But when all this has been done, when the conditions have been approved and the concession sanctioned, why should the holder be prohibited from selling the valuable consideration that he has obtained to a Joint-Stock Company, or to any other assignee? It is true that he may do so, but he must, previously, report all the *circumstances* to the Government of India, and *circumstances* here means that the prospectus, the memorandum, and articles of association, and other data required by Somerset House, must all be submitted in India before the concession be finally made.

By all means demand from the concessionnaire a reasonable deposit, and a substantial guarantee that the work he has undertaken shall be carried out, but let him reap the benefit of the trouble that he has taken, by selling his wares wherever he can find a market.

I hold, in spite of the invitations of the Secretary of State and his subordinates, to British investors, that in India there is an underlying opposition to the admission of Joint Stock Companies, and that the Members of the Council of the Governor-General "for making laws and regulations" employ a vast amount of energy and a great deal of un-

necessary time in framing rules which prevent their formation in England, but on the other hand I am assured by supporters of the Council, amongst whom I respectfully venture to count myself, although I presume to offer some weak criticisms on their acts, that there are causes absolutely independent of Indian legislation, which restrain the efflux of capital from England into our great dependency, while it still flows so freely into the Argentine Confederation, and other countries.

These causes are ascribed to the depreciation of silver, and to the fact that investors in South American securities may hope to receive a much larger profit on their outlay, than they can ever expect from India.

Mr. Robert Gladstone, of Liverpool, member of a deputation of Bi-Metallists who recently waited on the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that he wished to draw attention to one of the unsatisfactory results of the demonetization of silver and the consequent fall in exchange, viz., that English capital is deterred from going out to India for employment. "India," he stated, "is in want of more railroads and roads of all kinds, as well as of irrigation and drainage, for which her own means are quite insufficient. If exchange were settled on a stable basis, English capital would readily flow to India, but the fear that money laid down in India at an exchange of 1s. 4½d. might be returned at 1s. scares capitalists away."

This fear *that money laid down in India at an exchange of* 1s. 4½*d. might be returned at* 1s. has greatly struck me, and the more so because it was expressed by a merchant of Liverpool. Of all the cities in the Empire one would expect that Liverpool possessed the most accurate knowledge about the Argentine Confederation.

The English Colony in Buenos Ayres may be said to owe its origin to Liverpool: the first foreign mercantile houses in that great southern city were offshoots from Liverpool; their chiefs or "gerentes" were Liverpuldians, and the very clerks went out to seek their fortunes in civil employ in that country, as in the old days their northern neighbours sought a future, as cadets, in the service of the East India Company.

And yet here is a Liverpool gentleman, bearing a name as well known in South America as in India (I am not alluding to the great political character of the same cognomen), who represents to the Prime Minister, that capitalists are scared away from the latter country, owing to the instability of the basis of exchange; and who is apparently ignorant that in the former, to which English capital readily flows, that basis

is far more unsteady. Mr. Gladstone dreads that a rupee laid down in India at 1s. 4½d. may be returned at 1s.; but at the present time there is a large body of merchants, railway directors, property owners, and others interested in the River Plate, who are living in fear that the dollar laid down by them at upwards of 4s. may be returned at much less than half its value. With gold at a premium of 120 per cent., as it recently has been, the value of a dollar (5·04 dollars = £1) is reduced to 25·2 pence or loses say 50 per cent., while the rupee at 1s. 4½d. has only suffered to the extent of 31¼ per cent. The fall in silver can therefore hardly be considered a sufficient cause to deter English capital from going to India, seeing that that same cause has no prohibitive effect on our dealings with the Argentine Republic.

Then as to the second reason that has been mentioned for giving a preference to the last named country as a field for investment, namely, the probability of realizing a much larger profit on the capital outlay than can be expected from India, it means to say that the ordinary profit, the annual interest on the investments, may be the same in both countries, but that in South America there are opportunities for making an abnormal profit, in the shape of a large bonus, which could never be obtained in India. The investment therefore becomes to a certain extent speculative, a class of which I did not propose to treat, but still the question may be worthy of a brief examination. To put the case clearly—the capitalist who has to make a selection argues in this way: "India is in itself a poor country, it is old and worn-out, it is already thickly covered with a laborious population, and there is no field for further development. With care and attention an investment may be made to yield five or six per cent., but there is no longer a Pagoda-tree to be shaken. The Argentine Republic on the other hand is in its infancy, it is only on the threshold of its development, it possesses riches of which as yet we know nothing; it can swallow up millions of immigrants, every one of whom will add to its wealth; good interest on investment can always be had, and one's capital may be doubled in a few years."

The Argentine Pagoda-tree showered down a good deal of juicy fruit on early British adventurers. They had almost a monopoly of the export and import trade with Europe; they were enabled to purchase land at merely nominal prices, and to stock it for a song, and they had the advantage of being in "the swim," when railways were first introduced.

But to-day their competitors in trade are legion, land has gone to a fabulous price, and the breeding of cattle and sheep no longer yields enormous profit. The River Plate is becoming a wheat-growing country, in which character it has many rivals, and *cedulas*, which represent to a great extent, the value of the land, are counters played with on the Stock Exchange of London, and the "Bolsa" of Buenos Ayres.

Railways have certainly proved successful, especially those that have been constructed and worked by English Joint Stock Companies. In the few cases where they are in the hands of Government, the returns have, by no means, been more satisfactory than under similar circumstances in India; and it must also be remembered that in addition to a guarantee of interest, the Governments of the Platine States in many cases have conferred upon the Concessionnaires large areas of land in contiguity to the lines of Railway, which in course of time become of great value.

Development has made much larger strides in the middle of the present century than in its commencement, and I doubt whether it be correct to say that the Argentine Confederation is only on the threshold of life, and in its infancy; it seems to me that the time for making rapid fortunes there, and for getting extraordinary bonusses, has passed away, and that the country is settling down into that steady work of mature age from which a competency may be expected, and a highly respectable status in the world may be assured.

I am therefore inclined to think that it is not any special pecuniary advantage offered by the Argentine Republic that draws from the pocket of the British capitalist the money that he declines to lend to India, but I also arrive at the conclusion that the River Plate is to-day the *fashion*, and that its government and its people, aware of that fact, have used all their powers to fascinate and encourage the foreigner;—powers which the Indian Government does not possess, or in the exercise of which, it considers, that its dignity would be impaired.

CHAPTER IX.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND SANITARY INSTITUTIONS.

I REGRET that on a former occasion I had to offer an apology for wandering away from my subject, but my delinquency then was very slight when compared with the defection from duty into which I have been led in the last chapter. I may be pardoned for travelling from Kurrachee to Amritzar; they are cities in the same Empire, and the journey of 900 miles may be made in 48 hours, but from the Indus to the River Plate is a far cry; the distance must be upwards of 10,000 miles by sea, and the voyage, which is very rarely made, would occupy many weeks. And yet before returning to the path of duty, which it is so difficult to find again, when once we have strayed from it, I am strongly tempted to prolong my journey a little further, and to travel another thousand miles up the rivers Paraná and Paraguay, to the city of Asuncion.

It was here that, to the best of my belief, I first heard the name of *Kurrachee.*

A cook, declared to be a real "chef," was strongly recommended to me. He was said to be an Indian, not an *Indio-Paraguayo*, but a real Indian, one who came from Las Indias Bretanicas, and his name was *John.* John entered my service, and, with the one exception of an excessive fondness for caña, which corresponds, but is far superior to, the *gur-jo-dárú* of Sind, he was faultless.

I had taken him for a native of the West Indies, whose parents had been slaves, for his colour was black and his features were of the African type, but as we became better acquainted, I learnt more of his history. I have mentioned the trade that existed between Kurrachee and Muscat, and between this latter port and the island of Madagascar, a good deal of commerce was also carried on. John was a Siddee boatman of Kurrachee, who sometimes extended his voyages, beyond the ordinary coasting trade, and in one of them he came down to Madagascar.

Once or twice in the year, I believe not more frequently, a vessel is

chartered in Montevideo for the shipment of mules, which in Uruguay are bred in great numbers, to Madagascar, and on the return voyage of one such vessel, John entered before the mast, and so found his way to the River Plate. But it was not so easy to get back, and in the course of time, probably seeking a more genial and warmer climate, he journeyed up to Paraguay, where I met him, and where he first spoke to me of his native town. Whether he has returned to it I cannot say, but when last I was at Asuncion, I inquired for him, and was informed that he had left the country. But to make the acquaintance of John was not my only object in inducing the reader to accompany me on this long voyage. I have another, a self-laudatory, or at least a self-congratulatory one. John, I should imagine, is the only Sindee who has ever visited Paraguay, and I think I may go further and say that he is one of an exceedingly small number of persons, probably not exceeding four or five, who have ever been at Kurrachee, and also at Asuncion.

The Jesuit Fathers were at the latter city, but I do not think it possible that any one brother of that order could also have been at Kurrachee, for when they were driven out of Paraguay in 1767, it was only a little fishing village unworthy of their attention. The perky little gunboats of H.M. Navy fly about to all corners of the earth and sea, but I cannot find any record of an officer of the service having visited both places. Lord Brassey in the "Sunbeam" was at Kurrachee and in the Plate, but never at Asuncion; and Mr. E. F. Knight, who in "The Cruise of the Falcon," has written so pleasantly regarding this capital, does not seem to have extended his adventurous voyages to that of Sind.

Neither in ancient, mediæval, nor modern books of travel, do I find any mention of both places by one and the same author, though some have approached very nearly, for there are numerous records of the presence of Jesuits and others both in Brazil and Bombay, and I therefore think that I am justified in saying that the number of persons who have been to Kurrachee and Asuncion are exceedingly few. But I want to go farther, and to reduce the number of those who have ever ventured *into print*, on the subject of those distant places, absolutely to two Herein comes my self-laudation and self-congratulation: the opportunity for connecting myself, even indirectly, with one of our greatest travellers and most distinguished Oriental scholars, could not be refused—the temptation was irresistible—and that is why I have introduced the episode of "John," and dragged the reader up to Paraguay, while

professing to submit to him a treatise on Kurrachee. Before returning there I had better make a clean breast, and divulge my secret. The Colossus, by whose side I have dared to take my stand, is the author of *Scinde*, of *Scinde Revisited*, of the *Battle Fields of Paraguay*, and of many other works, and also the well-known translator of "The Thousand and One Nights," the most charming of Arabian Tales,—Sir Richard F. Burton, K.C.M.G.

And now back to work! We must exchange the grassy park-like lands that slope down to the Paraguay, for the arid banks of the Indus; the virgin forests with their giant trees, filled with birds of gaudy plumage, and songsters of sweet note, for the silent jungles of Sind; and a quiet hamlet perched on a sub-tropical river, for a busy port on the Arabian Sea.

But what an opening there is for a ready writer, versed in the habits and customs of both lands, to compare the marks left by the Arabs in India, with those impressed upon the Spanish Kingdom, and thence transmitted to the Hispano-American Republics. How he would revel in similitudes, and resemblances! In his dress, his horse-furniture, his arms, nay in his person, he would find in the "gaucho" of the Pampas a likeness to the native of Beluchistan; for agricultural purposes and for watering cattle he would see the *Charkhi* of India in constant use under the name of *Noria*; and the implements employed in the cultivation of the soil are exactly similar.

In writing recently about Paraguay I mentioned a method of entrapping waterfowl which I had seen employed, and which I thought local and unique. This simple plan is for the trapper to enter the water with no other clothing than a gourd upon his head, and a belt round his waist, and then he steals along until he finds himself in the midst of the birds. There is nothing to frighten them, only a pumpkin floating on the surface, but one by one they disappear, as the trapper draws them by the legs below water, and then pulls them up under his belt. The process is ingenious and I imagined it to be novel, but conceive my horror when I discovered that long previously, Mr. Hughes had called attention, in the "Gazetteer of Sind," to a very similar proceeding on the Manchhar Lake, in Sehwan, which is part of the Karáchí Collectorate.

We left the Bandar Road at the Tramway Depôt, and, as already stated it is continued until it enters on the parade-ground at the Quarter Guard and Native Infantry Lines. But there are several turnings on the

right hand which lead through the Civil Lines to the New Empress Market, and then across the "Sudder" through lines of bungalows to Frere Town, and the Cantonment Station.

Sir John Gorst, M.P., in answer to a question put to him in the House of Commons recently, stated that all bazaars in a Cantonment, other than "Regimental Bazaars," of which the chief customers are the civil population, are called "Cantonment Bazaars," and that the chief of these would be called the "Sudder Bazaar." The definition is not inaccurate, but it stops halfway. *Sadr* is an Arabic word which through certain transformations has come to mean *chief, supreme*, and thus we get the *ṣadr dīwanī 'adalāt* or chief civil court of India, but long before Cantonments were known, there were *Sadr Bazars* throughout India, meaning to say the chief and permanent markets; and Sir John's definition would hardly be satisfactory to the ladies of the military branch of society in Kurrachee; their requirements would scarcely be met in the regimental bazaars, and they naturally resort as their sisters of the Civil Branch do, to the Sudder, where the latest things from home, whether fashions in dress, Easter eggs or Christmas cards are exposed to view, and where the newest sauces, the most novel condiments, and the best of wines are also to be found.

A bāzār is not a market, in our acceptation of the word, that is to say it is not a collection of stalls under one roof for the display of provisions and produce. A bāzār is a quarter containing a number of stores and shops, the property of distinct owners, but it is not unusual to find a market situated in its midst.

There are no fewer than seven markets in Kurrachee, four of which are in the midst of Bāzārs: the new "Empress," opened on the 21st March, 1889, and the old and somewhat dilapidated "Cunnynghame" Market in the Sudder: the Soldiers' Market in the Soldiers' Bāzār, and the "Boulton" Market, in Market Quarter, which is the *Sudder* of the Old City. The others are the Fish and Lyaree Markets in the same neighbourhood, and the Lambert in the Rāmbāgh Quarter.

The "Empress" Market is a very handsome building, designed in what is known as the "domestic Gothic style" by the indefatigable municipal engineer Mr. James Strachan, and completed under his superintendence.

The contractors were Mr. J. S. Attfield of Lahore, who recently built the Cathedral in that capital, for the foundations; and Messrs. Walli Mahomed Jiwun and Dulloo Khejoo, for the superstructure.

It consists of four galleries 46 feet in width, surrounding an open quadrangle 130 feet long by 100 feet broad, with a range of buildings behind the main market, the whole affording accommodation for 280 shop and stall-keepers. The south front has a length of 231 feet, with a tower 140 feet high, rising from the centre, in which is a large chiming clock with four skeleton iron dials.

The foundation-stone was laid by Sir James Fergusson, Bart., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., then Governor of Bombay, on the 10th November, 1884, who at the same time performed the ceremony of placing the first stone of a memorial to the late Sir William L. Merewether, K.C.S.I., C.B., who was Commissioner in Sind from 1868 to 1877, but through want of funds, the construction of both undertakings proceeded very slowly. At length, however, the market has been completed at a cost of about Rs. 120,000, and is called by its present name, in commemoration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen, and Empress of India. As Mr. Pritchard, then Commissioner, at the opening ceremony, pointed out, there is only one other market in the whole Presidency that surpasses it, namely, the Crawford Markets at Bombay, and that is a very high commendation for, without exception, the markets founded by Mr. Arthur Crawford, Bo. C.S., on the site of the old slaughter-houses, are the finest in the world. In the height of its clock-tower Kurrachee has the advantage by 12 feet, but then Kurrachee is fond of high towers. The top of the spire of Saint Andrew's Church is 135 feet from the ground, and the square tower of Trinity, the Garrison Church and the largest in Kurrachee, is 150 feet high. The Scotch Church was designed by Mr. Newnham, Chief Resident Engineer of the Scinde Railway in 1865, in the Gothic style of the 14th century, and was opened for divine service at the end of 1868; Trinity was planned by Captain John Hill, Bombay Engineers, in the Italian Style, but his complete design was never carried out. The church was, I believe, built by Mr. John Brunton, M. Inst. C. E. and Chief Engineer of the Scinde Railway, and the style is, I should say, *African.*

Whether there be any style under that generic name may be questioned, and I do not pretend to say that Trinity Church is built on the principles of Ancient Architecture as established in Thebes or Meroë, but in spite of the assertion of a great Architectural Historian, that "no true building ever was designed to look like anything in either the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdoms," I am inclined to think that accidentally Trinity has taken the form of the giraffe, a member of the

zoological world, distinguished for its exceedingly long neck, and the shortness of its back. The nave is 115 feet long, and the tower 150 feet high, and above this it was originally intended to erect a steeple, but this fortunately was omitted. In compensation for its misshapen form, it is satisfactory to know that the tower is an excellent landmark for vessels approaching the coast.

I have always been somewhat puzzled how to account for the fact that a very large number of churches, situated in close proximity to the sea, and almost all of them built with lofty square towers, are dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This is, however, the case, for commencing in the mouth of the Thames, and following the coast round to Portsmouth, you will find in almost every watering-place a "Trinity" Church. I am inclined to think that it may have something to do with the guild or brotherhood instituted to the "honour of the Blessed Trinity and St. Clement, concerning the cunning and craft of mariners, and for the increase and augmentation of the ships thereof," now called the Trinity Board, and located in Tower Hill. Certain it is that in earlier days when lighthouses were less numerous, several churches bearing the name of "Trinity" did receive from the Board annual subscriptions towards the maintenance of their towers in a proper state of repair, and for the cost of lighting beacons on their summits in dark and stormy weather, and it is quite possible that the hope of obtaining similar assistance, may have been a slight incentive to the pious founders of new churches.

The Sudder Quarter covers a small area, but is thickly populated, containing 7,500 inhabitants, nearly as many as the Old Town, which is still more confined for space.

One of the charges made by Sir Charles Napier against the Amirs in 1842 was that their Highnesses had prohibited the inhabitants of Kurrachee to settle in the Bāzār, but so soon as the prohibition was removed they appear to have congregated there in large numbers.

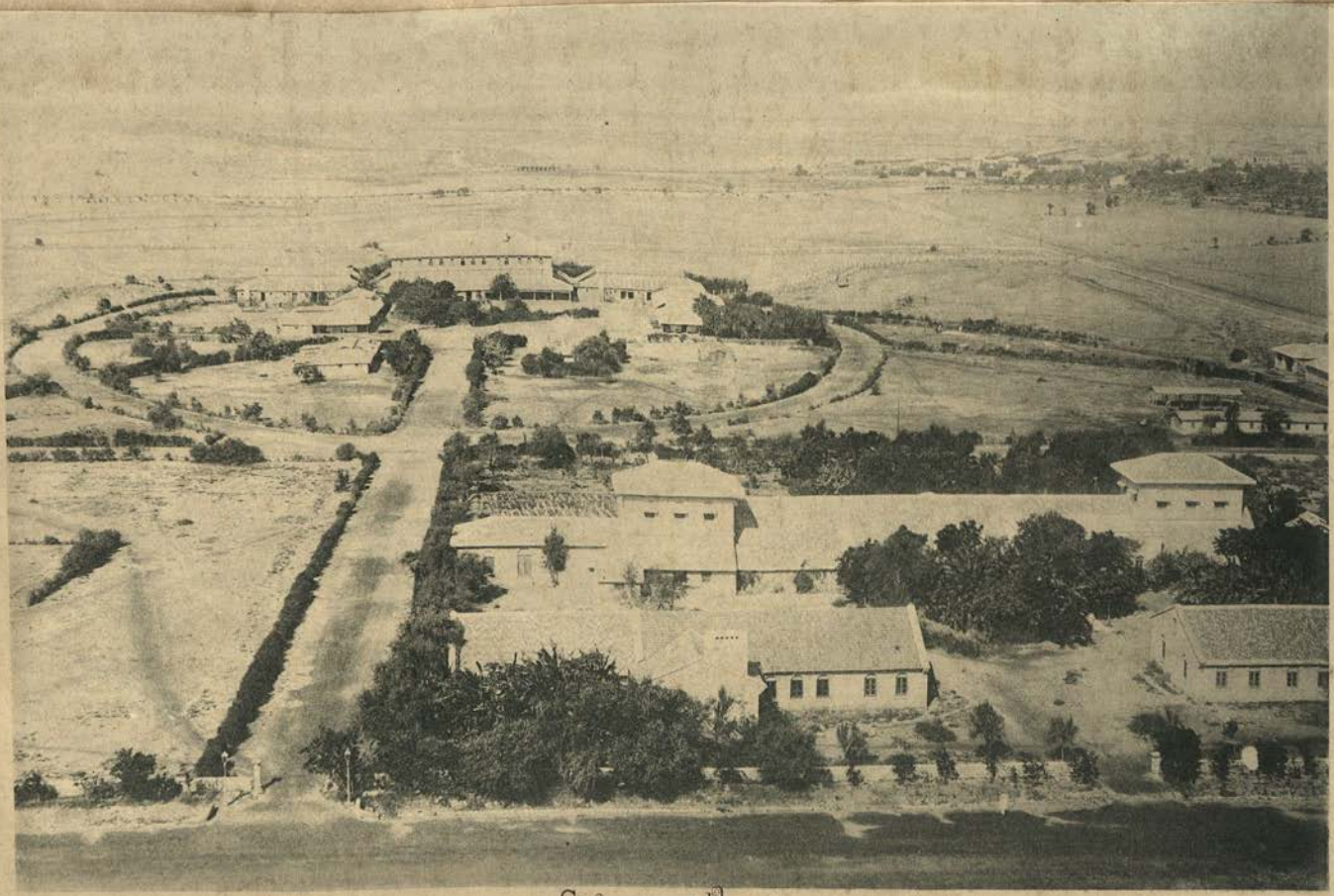
Saint Andrew is in the Preedy Quarter, on the northern extremity of Elphinstone Street, which traverses the Bāzār, and Trinity Church is at the southern end, in a corner of the Civil Lines, which cover a large area although the number of residents does not exceed 400. The lines are, however, occupied by a number of public buildings and official bungalows, to which are attached large compounds and gardens. Trinity Church stands in the centre of a plot, 15 acres in extent, while Government House, with the Commissioner's Offices, occupy three times that

area, and the Collector's Kutchery, the Frere Hall, and other buildings are all surrounded by fine open spaces.

Government House, the residence of the Commissioner in Sind, is not an imposing building; it is simply a large bungalow with two wings, built by Sir Charles Napier, to which a storey was added by the late General John Jacob, but it stands in a good position, is approached by several carriage drives, and when a guard of honour is paraded in front, when the verandah is lined with servants in scarlet liveries and white turbans, and when the band is playing on the lawn to welcome the visit of a Viceroy or a Commander-in-Chief, the effect is oriental and picturesque. It will answer all purposes, at least temporarily, when Sind becomes separated from the Bombay Presidency, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjāb, removes from Lahore to Kurrachee, there to establish his official residence; and there is ample space for a palace for the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, when Kurrachee is proclaimed the capital of that Empire.

It was purchased by the Government in 1847 from Sir Charles Napier, and the Commissioner's offices just in its rear were likewise acquired in 1855.

The finest building in the Quarter and perhaps in the whole of Kurrachee is the "Frere Hall." The name of the late Right Honourable Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., has been frequently mentioned in this work, not only with pleasure and respect, but of necessity, for a great space in the history of the town would have been left void, if no reference had been made to his great services. From January, 1851, to August, 1859, he was Chief Commissioner in Sind, and afterwards, as Governor of Bombay, he continued to take a warm interest in that Province and in its Capital and Port, and in February, 1867, he held a *Durbar* in the hall of the building that had been erected as a lasting monument in his own honour. At the unveiling of a statue to his memory, which stands upon the Thames Embankment, the Prince of Wales, with the happy diction for which he is remarkable, pointed out that "in the important post of Chief Commissioner of Sind, Bartle Frere maintained the honour of the country during the most important period of the Mutiny, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his brilliant services," and I notice too that his Royal Highness mentioned another incident in the commencement of the career of this distinguished official, namely that "in the year 1834 he was the first East India Company's cadet who arrived in India by the overland route."



Government House.

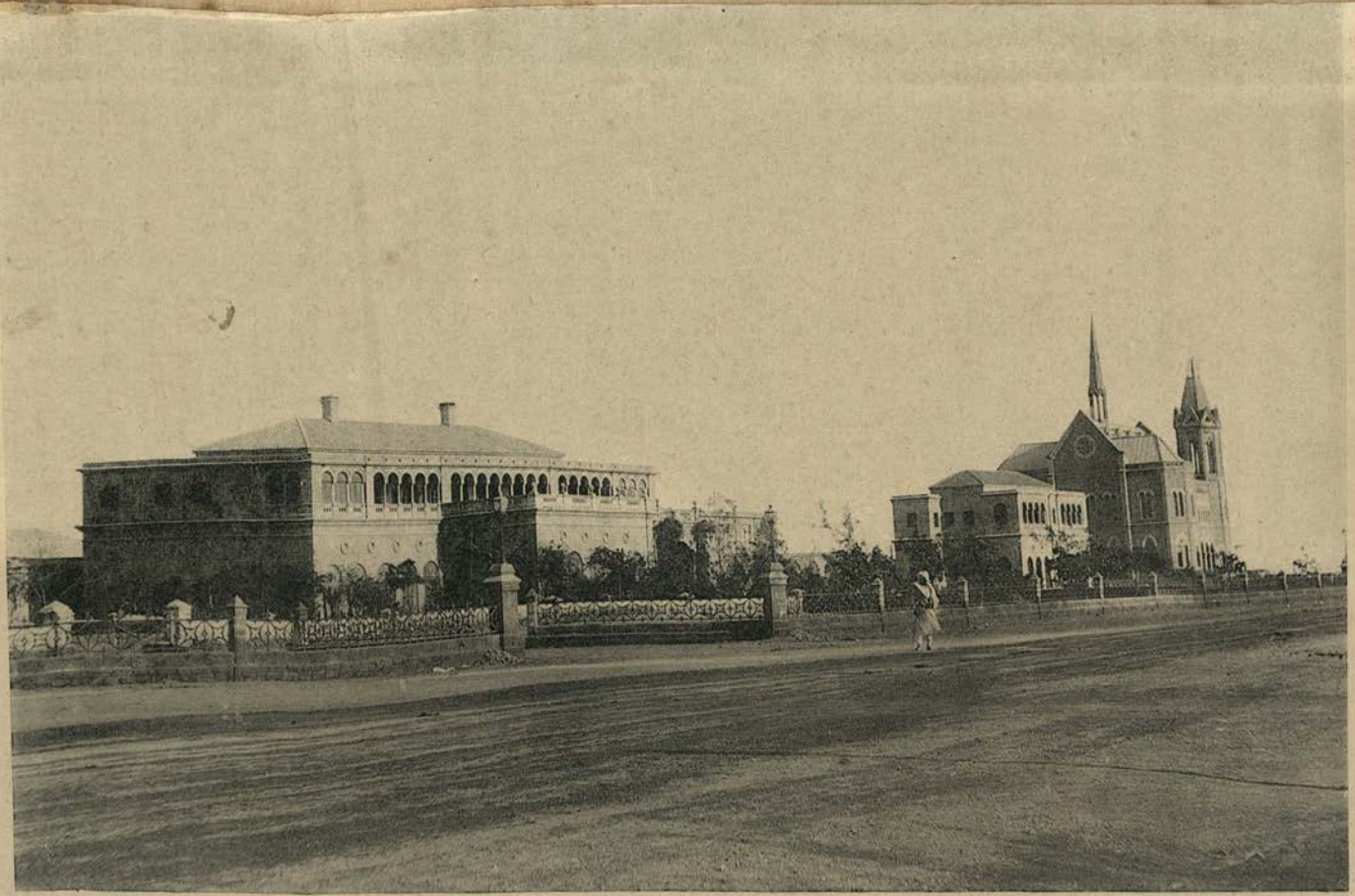
But it was shortly after his departure from Kurrachee in 1859, that steps were taken to show the esteem in which he was held by the people of Sind, although the present building was not commenced until August, 1863. As I have already mentioned, the residents of Kurrachee do not easily combine to carry out any specified undertaking, and their slow and faltering action in the matter of the Frere Hall, is rather a case in point. The total cost of the building was Rs. 180,000, but the amount derived from public subscriptions only reached Rs. 22,500, of which a considerable portion came from Bombay. Government subscribed Rs. 10,000, and the balance of Rs. 147,500 was contributed by the Municipality. It may be said that this last sum falls indirectly on the population, but it can hardly be considered a voluntary subscription from the people of Sind. When it was decided at a public meeting in London to commemorate the distinguished services of Sir Bartle Frere upwards of £12,500 were received from 800 subscribers, some of whom were undoubtedly residing in India, for £2,300 were sent from that country.

At length, however, it was decided to commence the work and designs were asked for. Twelve were submitted, and that of Lieutenant-Colonel H. St. Clair Wilkins, Royal (Bo.) Engineers, was selected. The style is Venetian-Gothic. The mass of the building is composed of limestone, quarried close to Kurrachee. The columns of the verandah of the upper storey are of white oolite limestone brought from Bholarī, a station on the North-Western Railway, 97 miles distant, and the voussoirs of the arches on the groundfloor are alternately of the same oolite, and of a dark grey sandstone from Jungshahi, another station, 53 miles from the town. Those of the upper storey have a dark red sandstone, instead of the grey used in the lower one. The roof is partly tiled and partly covered with corrugated iron, and the spirelet (144 feet high) and octagonal tower are coated with Muntz's metal. The timber is all of the best teak. There are two splendid rooms, exceedingly well adapted by their space and height for balls and public meetings, and a number of other good-sized apartments. Two of the groundfloor rooms are occupied by the Kurrachee General Library and Museum which were, up to 1870, established in the Staff Lines. A new museum in Burns Gardens, called the "Victoria," the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Duke of Connaught, is in course of erection, and the valuable collection of natural history subjects is to be removed from the Frere Hall, and established here so soon as it can be received.

The Frere Hall was opened to the public on the 10th October, 1865, by the Commissioner, Mr. S. Mansfield. It is now the property of the Municipality, and recently that body discovered that the desolate and unsightly appearance of the compound was a reproach to them, and so they decided to do something to improve it. To effect this the milk-bush hedge has been uprooted, and stone posts and chains have been substituted. A new cast-iron Band Stand has also been erected, and the Hall has been supplied with new and lighter furniture. The afternoon's band is a great source of amusement, and forms a point to which most people resort, but it always annoyed me here, as it has done in other parts of India, to see, among the uniformed bandsmen, a figure in *mufti*, namely the Bandmaster. I believe that he is a person with whom the regiment contracts, but to which he only belongs in a civil capacity. He is not commissioned or enlisted, but I am inclined to think that the same is the case in many of our regiments at home. I cannot speak with any certainty, but I should imagine it very probable that Lieutenant D. Godfrey was only allied to the Grenadier Guards by some sort of contract before he received Her Majesty's commission, but he never disdained to wear the Queen's uniform, and I cannot understand why a Bandmaster in India, even though he be a German, should decline to don the regimentals of the corps with which he is serving, and thus create a great eyesore.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Frere Hall are two buildings designed for social enjoyment and domestic comfort, the Masonic Hall, and the Sind Club. The foundation-stone of the former was laid in 1845 by Sir Charles Napier, a grant of the land having been made to Lodge "Hope," the present proprietors of the building, who permit other lodges, of which there are, I believe, five, to hold their meetings there. In connection with the lodges an association for the relief of distressed widows and orphans was established in 1873.

The Clubhouse is extremely well adapted to its purpose. The verandahs and large entrance-hall are cool and comfortable, and the dining-room upstairs is a very handsome apartment. The members are exceedingly hospitable, and any traveller properly introduced is at once admitted an honorary member, and permitted to pay a subscription for the period that he remains, which allows him greater freedom than if he was simply a free guest. They "swear" by their whiskey, but I might venture to remark, and I hope that it may not be considered discourteous on my part if I do so, that by constantly using the same spirit with



The "Sind Club" and "Frere Hall."

any change, the palate loses to a great extent its power of appreciation, and is apt to accept an inferior quality to that which first merited its approval, provided it be of a similar class. The exporter cannot always maintain exactly the same age and blend, but he knows the taste of Kurrachee, and ships the closest approximation to the last order that he can combine, so close that a palate accustomed to its use can hardly detect a difference. But there is a change, and that not for the better. I remember a gentleman of advanced age who died in the belief that the beaver hat that he used was similar to the first one with which he had covered his head some sixty years before, but in his yearly purchase Messrs. Lincoln and Bennett had so dexterously effected slight permutations, that his last hat, although bearing some resemblance to the original one, was by no means remarkable. They had kept the blend, but the age was wanting. Probably great changes have also been made, in the Sind Club, for I have heard that ladies have recently been admitted as members, and their more refined tast will have had its effect on the description and quality of the beverages consumed.

Behind the Civil Lines there is a large expanse of flat country, across which is seen the range of hills called the "Hands Hill Quarries," whence by means of sundry loops, stone is brought down over the railway for the construction of the harbour works at Kiamari, and for building purposes in Kurrachee. On this area and due east of the Sudder are situated the barracks for native and European troops, the Roman Catholic Convent and St. Patrick's School (of which mention has been already made), the General Hospital, the Napier or Military Hospital, the "Fives Court" and Canteen, and also, but distant about a mile, the Cemetery. The European barracks are well situated on high land, and are capable of affording accommodation to an entire regiment. When first built, in the time of Sir Charles Napier, they had no upper storey, but this was commenced in 1868 and completed some years ago. They are laid out in blocks, substantially built of stone, and are said to be healthy, but they are very heavy and ugly. This does not arise from any defect in the design or construction, but is almost an obligation, imposed by the necessity of making them as cool as possible. The whole frontage is a verandah, pierced with apertures for the admission of air, but these are of course open and unglazed, and to the onlooker from a short distance they have all the appearance of windows that have been blocked up, and painted black. On the south the cantonments are bounded by the railway, on which there is the "Frere Street Station"

close at hand, for the use of the troops and their surroundings ; and crossing this we come upon the " Railway Workshops," a large collection of buildings which are daily growing in size and importance. Eastwards of the workshops is the Parsī " Tower of Silence," to me a name that strikes as sadly and expressively on the ear as the appellation of " God's Acre," formerly used in speaking of a rustic burialground, but in compensation on their west is the " Race Course."

Close by, two roads branch off to the sea-shore, one passing by the observatory on Bath Island and leading to Clifton, and the other to the military Sanatorium, and to the pier on Ghizri Creek. Why the little hamlet, which stands on flat table-land about 100 feet high, overlooking the Arabian Sea, and was formerly called Mahdeo, received its English name, I cannot say. When I inquired, there was a smile at my ignorance on the face of my informant as he replied, that of course it was so called after the birthplace of Sir Charles Napier. There are several towns and villages in England bearing the name of Clifton, but I cannot find that Sir Charles was born in any one of them, in fact his biographers assert that the conqueror of Sind first saw the light at Whitehall. But so it is, the soldiers' health-resort retains its old native name, while the civilians' has been re-christened. More than that, there is an Old Clifton and a New Clifton, which would lead one to suppose that it is a place of some importance.

Travellers through the Isle of Thanet may probably have noticed shortly before they reach Westgate-on-Sea and forming one flank of the line of watering-places that run round the coast, a little village called Birchington, containing some strange-looking houses. They are built partly of brick, and partly of timber, painted in bright colours, with their *jalousies* picked out in green, and the pillars of their verandahs, covered with many tinted creepers. They look cool and comfortable, and if you peep inside you will find the rooms neatly furnished with tables and chairs of bent-, or some other light coloured wood, and tastefully arranged and decorated. The surroundings too are pleasing ; the roads and paths and terraces are prettily laid out, and the grass-plots and lawn-tennis courts are carefully mown and rolled. The place as a seaside resort is new, but some old trees have been left standing, and new ones recently planted, are begining to burst into leaf. Before long Birchington will probably have its promenade pier, its own German Band, and will be invaded by troupes of dusky minstrels, and never-wearied organ-grinders. But meanwhile there it nestles on the English Channel, the ideal of a village of bungalows.

Clifton, on the Arabian Sea, already has its pier, or at least it has a long wooden spit running from the shore across the sands, and those sands are large enough to permit all the little European children of India, gasping for a breath of sea-air, to find amusement with their wooden spades and buckets, but in all other respects it is wanting in resemblance to the village in Kent. According to one visitor, "Clifton, with a splendid beach, and charming climate, is a bare and barren site covered with a few miserable shanties that would disgrace *the bush*." I am not responsible for *the bare site covered with houses*, but as a fact their appearance is very different from that of the Birchington bungalows. They are not even "pukka" built, they have no windows and no furniture, and there is no smooth surface that would take a coat of paint. Moreover there appears to be a danger, that the visitor, to whom I have referred, did not foresee, namely, the risk that the bungalows themselves may become embedded in sand. The Municipality recently caused a screen of wooden posts and bamboo-matting to be erected to prevent, if possible, the sand accumulating in front of the houses, but they remark that the experiment is not encouraging, as it is only checked in its course for a time.

But still for some months in the year Clifton is fashionable, and not only the residents of Kurrachee, but people from Upper India, are glad to resort there for a breath of the "briny." The writer whom I have quoted is sanguine as to the future of the place, and perhaps slightly imaginative. He tells us that "were its resources properly developed and fully advertised, large numbers of invalids who now resort to the south of Europe, and to Egypt would winter in Clifton, carried through without change of steamer from London to Kurrachee, and without trouble and fatigue."

Winter at Clifton! the very idea makes one shudder. On a November afternoon you may drive out under a hot sun, to find the houses tenantless, the place absolutely empty: not a soul visible, not even a dog to bark, though I believe that there is one resident, a *pir*, who lives in a cave at the foot of the cliff: but before sunset you will gladly turn the horses back to town, for the wind is piercing, the cold frightful, and the danger of rheumatism imminent. During the hot weather the change from Lahore to Clifton for a fever-stricken patient is delightful, and here he will find fresh air, and the peace and quietude that are so necessary during the convalescent stage, but, for six months in the year, it is deserted, and although attempts have been made to start an hotel, the results

have not been satisfactory. When the Viceroy has his palace in Kurrachee, he will probably have his Osborne at Clifton, and it will then begin to emulate its rival at Birchington. There can be no doubt that the air is beneficial, for the military Sanatorium at Ghizri, in the immediate neighbourhood, restores to health a very large percentage of the invalids drafted to it, and it is a pity that it is not extended, and made available for a much larger number of officers and soldiers.

Kurrrachee, I am told, is regarded as an extremely dull and miserable station by all military men. Why it should be so, I cannot say, for in addition to the amusements to be found at other Indian Stations, it has those of boating and fishing, and certainly it is an improvement on Aden, from which point in the ordinary course a European regiment is transferred, and on Quetta to which it usually proceeds.

Certainly the gallant officers sometimes seem very hard-up for amusement, and I remember one field-officer who used to drive a team such as I had never seen except in a circus, or a farmer's waggon. Tandem means, I believe, two horses on end, but this gentleman tried to manage three on end. It was a difficult operation. A tandem leader has been frequently known to turn round and stare the driver in the face, but in this case the two leaders wound round the cart, and it required the assistance of a perfect swarm of *sā'is* to disentangle them. I have seldom seen a more deplorable exhibition, nor a greater waste of horse-power.

The present routine does not tend to the appreciation of Kurrachee by a regiment commencing its Indian service. It comes off the sea, and remains for some time in its immediate neighbourhood. If it had marched directly up country, and, after two or three years' service on the hot plains, had been brought down to Kurrachee then the officers and men would enjoy the change, and would derive immense benefit from the more bracing air. It is quite true that a Queen's regiment has a good experience of hot weather, even when stationed on the seaboard, for it has to maintain a detachment of two or three companies at Hydrabād (Sind) when the climate is most unhealthy, and the heat is frequently insufferable. The force at Kurrachee is generally composed of a Battery of Field and one of Garrison Artillery, a Battalion of Queen's Infantry, and a Regiment of the Bombay Army. The Artillery lines are in the Rambaugh Quarter, and occupy a fine open space. They possess everything requisite for use and comfort, including a good

plunge-bath, and here at midday is fired the station gun, which by many of the residents is believed to bring the daily cooling breeze from the ocean. The arsenal at Kurrachee was in former days subordinate to that of Hydrabād, but I believe that the latter has now ceased to exist; at least when last I was there, I looked down from the Amīrs' Palace, on a vast area that would have rejoiced the heart of an *Astley*, a *Barnum* or a *Buffalo Bill*, but which was entirely unoccupied. A Battery of Field Artillery is, however, constantly stationed in Hydrābād.

In the course of my narrative, I have expressed my opinion on the representative body of Kurrachee, with considerable freedom, and have stated that the residents are not apt to combine for any specified purpose, but I should be wanting in my duties of narrator if I failed to record the names of many individuals who have expended large sums of money, and sacrificed their time, and personal comfort, for the improvement and development of the town, with which by birth, by commercial ties, or by the desire to advance its interests they are connected.

In the formation of new roads and the laying-out of streets, which have been going on ever since the British occupation, and which with the increase of population and the extension of the town are constantly becoming more necessary, the Municipality might have encountered some difficulty in giving to each a distinctive title, had it not adopted the principle of applying the names of those residents who have left their mark in the history of the place, to its different quarters and highways thereby commemorating the services that they have rendered.

I do not know that there is an *Eduljee Dinshaw* Road, a *Max Denso* Street, or a *Strachan Market*, but as the founders of charitable and useful institutions, and as the architect and supervisor of many of them, the names of such men are engraved in the grateful memories of their fellow-townsmen.

The Charitable Dispensary, situated in the centre of the Camp and Sudder Bāzār, at which so many as 13,000 patients have been treated in the course of a year, and which bears the name of "Eduljee Dinshaw," was erected in 1881-82, principally through the munificence of that gentleman, he having contributed one half of the cost of the building, and, in addition to many other charitable acts, he has recently subscribed Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of a hospital at Kiamāri, the erection of which is of the greatest importance to the sailors visiting the port, and to the labourers working on the wharves, as hitherto no medical aid was

available in case of accident or sudden illness, nearer than Manora on the opposite side of the harbour, or in the Civil Hospital three miles off.)

The Port Trustees, the North-Western Railway, and the Municipality have promised subscriptions of equal amount towards this desirable object.

While Mr. Dinshaw has so generously cared for the well-being of the body, Mr. Max Denso, another well-known resident, had a kindly regard to the improvement of the mind of his fellow-citizens, and founded the large hall, containing a splendid lecture-room in the Bandar Road; and (Mr. N. N. Pochaji, with a view to rendering the town-surroundings more pleasant to the eye, contributed largely to the erection of fountains in the Municipal and Erskine Gardens, and Mr. Eduljee Dinshaw subscribed in a similar manner to adorn the Frere Hall compound.) To the part that Mr. James Strachan has taken in the improvements of Kurrachee, I need not again refer, for I have already stated that almost every public building in the town bears the impress of his hand.

But if the names of these benefactors are not posted at the street-corners, those of several distinguished and historical personages are commemorated in the plan of the town, in addition to many local celebrities and residents. To remind us of our Sovereign Lady, there are the "Empress" Market, the "Victoria" Museum, the "Queen's" Road Quarter, and the "Queen's" Road Crescent; the names of her Majesty's Commissioners are found everywhere; in memory of the First Governor, there are the "Napier" Mole, "Napier" Quarter, "Napier" Road, and "Napier" Hospital, and of his successors the names of Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. J. D. Inverarity, Mr. S. Mansfield, Sir W. L. Merewether, Mr. W. H. Havelock, and Mr. Henry N. B. Erskine, C.S.I., appear in connection with quarters, gardens, wharves and monuments.

McLeod Road and McLeod Station are named after Mr. John McLeod, a deputy-collector of Customs, who died in 1853, and in whose honour, and in recognition of whose services in fostering the trade of Sind, the McLeod scholarship was founded in the Government High School in 1854. The names of military men are borne by the *Cunynghame* and *Boulton* Markets, the *Somerset* and the *Outram* Roads, and of civil engineers by *Newnham* and *Brunton* Roads, both of whom were connected with the Sind Railway. In reference to gentlemen who are still taking an active part in the administration and improvement of

the town, I do not think that any road or street has yet been affiliated to Mr. B. T. Finch, Director of the Persian Gulf Telegraph, and the indefatigable and zealous Chairman of the Garden Committee; but a new road has recently been made in the Queen's Road Quarter, and named after the Honourable Alexander McHinch, member of the Council of H.E. the Governor of Bombay, President of the Municipality of Kurrachee, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the Sind Volunteer Rifle Corps, who in addition to the duties attached to those offices, and to his commercial position as head of the firm of Messrs. A. McHinch and Co., is as unwearying in his attention to the health and improvement of the town, as to the minor details of beautifying and embellishing it.

The name of his predecessor in the Municipality, the late Mr. James Grant, is also recorded on the street named after him, but his goodfellowship, his innate kindness, his readiness of speech, and his sad fate will suffice to keep Mr. Grant's memory alive for many years in the hearts of his numerous friends, and of his late colleagues.

Bandar, *Kutcherry*, *Rampart*, *Jail*, and *Mission* Roads give their own significations; they clearly mean that they lead to and from the Port, the *Kachahri* or Law-courts, the Old City, the Prison and the Mission House, and I presume that *Scandal Point Road*, which is rather a favourite drive, must also be interpreted literally, and that it leads to a spot where the conversation is usually directed to the pricking and piercing of the characters of one's neighbours. In briefly mentioning the names of the many roads and streets, that now cross Kurrachee in all directions, there is one that has carelessly escaped my memory, and I am obliged to interpolate it, for it raises lofty aspirations in my own mind. Mr. A. F. Bellasis was formerly of the Bombay Civil Service, and has given his name to a street in the Bandar Quarter, but Mr. Bellasis was also an author. He wrote a most interesting account of Brahmanābād, a very ancient city in the Hālā Deputy Collectorate of Sind, and he also compiled a history of the Kurrachee Municipality. Probably it was for the latter work that the Municipality recorded his patronymic in the list of illustrious names which fill the local street directory of Kurrachee, and the fact leads me to think that I may perhaps reach the same exalted position, and that some day looking upwards I may see my name on an enamelled tablet at the corner of a thoroughfare. I respectfully submit that whenever that honour may be conferred upon me, the spelling should be correct, for I have held it as a great griev-

ance that my forefather's name should have been distorted in the lines of the Laureate's poem on *The Defence of Lucknow*,

> "Storm at the Water-gate! storm at the
> *Bailey*-gate! storm and it ran ——"

for the Guard and Gate, so world-famed during the Mutiny, received their designation from Lieutenant-Colonel John *Baillie*, a distinguished Orientalist, and Resident at the Court of Oudh in the early part of the present century. Names do get distorted in India, and in *Janabād*, a station on the railway, 63 miles from Kurrachee, it is difficult to recognise *John Brand*, the engineer of the line, who was charged with its erection.

In addition to the "Eduljee Dinshaw" Dispensary, there are two other similar institutions, one situated in the Bandar, and the other in the Lyaree Quarter.

The word "Dispensary" in our acceptation of the word hardly defines the nature and utility of these establishments. More strictly they should be called "Hospitals for out-door patients," for not only are medicines prescribed, and given, but surgical operations are also performed, many of them being defined as *major*. The patients average about 100 per day in each Dispensary and are of all nations and religions:—Europeans, Eurasians, Hindūs, Mussalmāns, Parsis, Native Christians, and other castes. The diseases most commonly observed are malarious fever, rheumatic affections, ophthalmia, inflammation of the external ear, chest affections, diseases of the stomach and bowels, and skin affections. Out of 31,623 persons treated at the three Dispensaries during the year 1887-88, 5,483 were suffering from Febrile or Zymotic diseases (exclusive of smallpox) and 4,899 from ophthalmia. There were also seven cases of leprosy treated during the year, 2 in the Eduljee, and 5 in the Lyaree Dispensary; and it would appear that there are great fluctuations in the course of this disease, to which attention has been recently called even in London, for in 1884-85 thirteen sufferers were under treatment, in 1885-86 there was not a single case, and in 1886-87 there were only four. The Dispensaries are under the charge of native gentlemen holding the position of First Class Hospital Assistants, but they are visited every month by two members of the Municipality, and are also frequently inspected by the Civil Surgeon of Kurrachee, and the Deputy Surgeon General of the Sind Circle.

The Compulsory Vaccination Act (Act IV. of 1879) was introduced

into Kurrachee in the year 1879-80 and is stated to have conferred great benefits on the public.

For enforcing the Act there is an establishment entirely separate from the medical Institutions, consisting of a Superintendent, a Clerk, 2 Public Vaccinators, a Police Constable and 6 Sub-Registrars of Births and Deaths, each of whom has charge of one of the six Registration Districts into which the town is divided, and is bound to make a house-to-house visitation, and to collect information. The result of their labours is somewhat remarkable, and is very creditable to the Department. Taking the infantile increase of the population at the rate of 31 per 1,000, the average number of children under one year of age available for vaccination should be 2,280, but the officers were so keen in the hunt that they discovered 3,191 little ones as yet unprotected from small-pox, all of whom were operated upon, in addition to 530 children of more mature age; and of all these cases of primary vaccination 99·5 per 100 were successful. The Superintendent reported that in the year 1887-88 there were 10 cases of small-pox, three of which proved fatal, and that the disease was introduced from outside the town; in one case by passengers on board a steamer, and in others by travellers from Kelāt, Katch, and other places; and he adds "that he is happy to say that on account of the great protection afforded to the public by vaccination, the disease does not spread at all." Further we learn that no ill-effects were observed to have resulted from vaccination, and that no case of small-pox appeared after the operation had been performed. In 1885-86 there were 17 cases of this dire disease with three deaths; in 1884-85 4 cases; but in 1883 there was a very severe attack, there having been 434 cases with 108 deaths. This was due to the influx of a large number of unprotected persons from Mekran and other places in the Persian Gulf, who in that and previous years came down to support themselves, there being a serious famine in their own country. Notwithstanding the fact that in consequence of vaccination the terrible effects of small-pox have been so greatly reduced there are still to be found in Kurrachee, as elsewhere, opponents of the Act, and 16 persons were fined last year for neglecting to comply with its provisions.

Kurrachee has suffered severely on several occasions from cholera in an epidemic form. It has already been mentioned that the Municipality sprang from a Board of Conservancy, appointed by Sir Charles Napier in 1846, when there was a very severe attack, and this was followed by

others, three of them in the decade 1860-70, and by a serious outbreak in 1879-80. In 1885 it again appeared, with the result of 38 deaths out of 51 cases, but it was stated to have been imported from Sibi.

The registered number of Births and Deaths during 1887-88 was 3,870 and 2,105 respectively, which on the population, according to the census of 1881 (73,560), gives a birth rate of 52·61 and a death rate of 28·61 per 1,000, but allowing for a large increase of inhabitants who at the present time are believed by the municipality to number 100,000, these rates would be reduced to 38·7 and 21 per 1,000 respectively; a rate which would compare very favourably with several English towns of the same population, which rejoice in those sanitary arrangements that have not yet been provided in Kurrachee.

The south-west wind prevails during eight months of the year, and this, added to the low situation of the town, and to the evaporation from the stagnant pools in the back-waters that surround it, makes the climate moist and humid; but as a residence Kurrachee is probably as healthy as any place in the plains, or on the sea-coast of India, and in many respects it is much more pleasant. The mean temperature is 77° F., but in winter this is reduced to 65°, and in summer it rises to 86° and sometimes higher. In the beginning of last June, night and day, the temperature was never less than 95°, and where the hot wind reached the thermometer, it rose to 132°. It is said that the maximum in the sun's rays has been occasionally recorded as high as 160°, while the minimum temperature, in mid-winter, has been as low as 38°. But even in the hottest weather, a cool life-giving breeze sets in from the sea, just as the mid-day gun is fired, and the long evenings are delightful for a drive to Clifton or Scandal Point. The rain-fall is slight and precarious, the average being 7·37 inches per annum, and in some years it is below 3 inches, while in others over 20 inches have been registered, but it is not confined to one long down-pour during the South-West Monsoon, and there are, not unfrequently, heavy showers in the winter months. The winds from the northerly quarters are the most trying, and it is while they are blowing, that Kurrachee suffers from the dust-storms, to which I have previously referred.

CHAPTER X.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

THE epidemic that broke out in the House of Commons in 1870, and thence spread with such virulence throughout the country, did not reach Kurrachee until 1885. In that year it had its School Board. This infliction has, however, fallen mildly upon the town. It already had its Vernacular Schools under Government control, and they were simply transferred to the Municipality. At that time they were ten in number, six Boys' Day Schools, two Girls' Day Schools, a Mixed Day School at Manora, and a Night School, five of which had school-houses, but there were no buildings for the remainder.

The total annual costs of maintenance, including a pension contribution, amounted to Rs. 9,716, of which sum Rs. 1,700 were derived from school fees, and Rs. 3,239 from the Government Grant. Naturally the expenditure has increased; it is the peculiar function of a School Board to spend money with a generous hand; but the outlays up to the present time appear to have been necessary, and fully justified. The masters of almost all the schools were underpaid, and the number of them was insufficient; it was also requisite to find houses for those schools which had no fixed domicile, and to rent or construct buildings for their use. In the second year of its existence the increase of the Board's expenditure on these accounts amounted to Rs. 3,254, and in 1887-88 the total cost was nearly Rs. 14,000, inclusive of Rs. 10,400 expended on new buildings, several of which were completed. The total demand on the pockets of the inhabitants, under the heading of "Education" in 1884-85, was Rs. 11,743; in 1887-88 the same item is called "Public Instruction;" and the total expenditure was Rs. 67,472. It is, however, fair to state that of this sum Rs. 25,000 formed a contribution to the Sind Arts College, and tha Rs. 13,400 were derived from Government Grants and other sources. It is somewhat remarkable that the fees paid by scholars in the latter year shew a decrease; on this count. Rs. 1,697 were received in 1885-86, and in 1887-88 only Rs. 1,630, whence it may be concluded that the more the

public subscribes for education, the less do individuals pa
and that the old system in existence at the time of c
under which the pupil carried a supply of food to his tutor, has co...
pletely died out.

The following table gives the attendance at the various primary schools in charge of the Municipality, and the cost incurred, includin repairs, furniture, contingencies, &c., in 1887-88 :—

Name of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Cost Incurred.
Arabic-Sindhi School	205	2,252 8 3
Hindu-Sindhi School	132	971 3 3
Gujarati School, No. I.	93	1,249 7 5
,, No. II.	135	1,078 5 3
Marathi School, Mission Road	175	1,526 12 11
Chakiwara School	65	692 11 9
"Wedderburn" Girls' School (Arabic and Hindu-Sindhi)	96	1,590 12 11
Gujarati Girls' School	51	585 11 0
Mahomedan Girls' School, Khori	86	949 10 3
,, ,, Old Market	76	870 5 3
Arabic-Sindhi Night School	32	216 10 8
Gujarati Night School, New Market	13	122 12 3
Old Market Night School	28	241 8 3
Rambaugh Garikhatta Night School	12	127 8 3
"Humby" Vernacular School, Manora	39	616 0 7

A drawing class for artizans, &c., was recently opened, and is held in one of the school-houses twice a week, on Saturday afternoon, and I am forced to add, notwithstanding the storm of wrath that I shall bring down on the heads of Rao Bahadūr Oodharam Mulchand and his colleagues on the Board, on Sunday also. Conceive the wickedness of a municipal body, who actually encourage the study of drawing on the *Sabbath*; it is worse than opening a picture gallery on the Lord's day, for it demands not only the services of a master, but the actual manual labour of his pupils.

This is the first little wedge of technical education, a branch of instruction which the Board is desirous of developing to a greater extent, but it is to be hoped that they will not proceed to the formation of classes for music and dancing. They have certainly taken one wise step in engaging the services of a gymnastic teacher for the physical education of the school children, and it will be interesting to learn the results of his training on the rising generation of Kurrachee.

The Arabic-Sindee School and night school are chiefly attended by

Knives to grind.

Muhammadan boys of the lower classes, and the Persian language is taught in both of them. The pupils of the Hindū-Sindee School are generally the sons of shopkeepers, brokers, weighmen, &c., who leave at an early age to follow the trades of their respective fathers.

This school was established in 1869 with a view to educating the children of the trading classes, among whom the Hindū-Sindee character called "Khudabādi," and not the Arabic-Sindee, is in use. An improved form of alphabet was introduced by Mr. Narayan Jaganath, an officer of the Sind Educational Department, in order to overcome the defects in the writing of the *Banya* character, from which all vowel marks had previously been omitted, and his system having been approved by the Commissioner in Sind, a school was founded for its development. Mr. Jaganath died in 1873, but one block of the High School is still called the "Narayan Jaganath Anglo-Vernacular School," in his memory.

The first Gujaratee School owed its origin mainly to the exertions of the late Mr. Rāmdas Bhānjee, and was established in 1868 for the education of Gujaratee speaking people, chiefly merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, who are mostly Hindūs of Gujarāt, Kachis (Cutchees), Kwājas, and a few Parsees. Gujaratee and Arabic-Sindēe are also taught in the Chakiwāra Branch School, where the majority of the pupils are Mūhammadans of the labouring classes. In the "Humby" Vernacular School at Manora, no less than four languages are taught to a class of about thirty children, but the population of the village is exceedingly mixed.

This is true, as has been already stated, of all the inhabitants of Kurrachee, and so many different dialects and tongues are spoken that a much larger number of schools have to be established than would be necessary for the education of the rising generation of the town, if they all used one and the same language. This same diversity of speech causes another difficulty, namely, the want of an adequate staff of trained teachers—a defect that is especially noticeable in regard to the Girls' Schools, of which there are two Hindū, two Mūhammadan, and four Night Schools, and for them the School Board has the greatest trouble in securing the services of competent mistresses. The sisters of St. Joseph's Convent Schools have, however, kindly undertaken to instruct teachers and girls in the art of sewing, and in school management generally, and it is hoped that in course of time a capable female staff will be formed with their valuable aid.

In addition to the Primary Schools already mentioned, the following is a table of those to which grants-in-aid are paid by the Municipality, and of the amounts of such grants.

Names of Schools.	Average Attendance.	Municipal Grant.
Narayan Jaganath High School	400	540 0 0
Grammar School	180	720 0 0
St. Patrick's School	220	720 0 0
St Joseph's Convent School	140	
Church Mission High School	580	€00 0 0
Virbaiji Anglo-Vernacular School	125	600 0 0
Narotumdas Private School and another	350	300 0 0
Two Aided Night Schools in Camp	—	95 0 0
Gujarati School in Camp	—	465 0 0
Sind Arts College	—	6,000 0 0
Madrasa	—	5,000 0 0
Europ-Eurasian School, Manora	13	
Sanscrit School	36.	360 0 0
Zenana Mission Girls' School	28	

The High School was established in 1853 under the auspices of the Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, and in the following year it was domiciled in a building erected by Government at a cost of Rs. 6,200, at the corner of the Bandar and Mission Roads. Two blocks were added in 1874-75 at a cost of Rs. 23,400, which sum was subscribed between the Government, the Municipality, and private individuals. It is divided into two distinct institutions, the High School and the Anglo-Vernacular School. The High School proposes to educate students up to the matriculation standard of the University of Bombay, and since its establishment several young men have matriculated from it.

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic High School was commenced in 1863, but the building as it now stands was not completed until 1870. It has an extremely fine appearance, with a well-to-do, solid, and substantial look. The Military Chaplain and Superior of the Roman Catholic Mission presides over a considerable staff of teachers, amongst whom are Professors of the Portuguese, Persian, and Sindee languages. St. Joseph's Convent School is conducted by a staff of religious ladies of the congregation of the Daughters of the Cross; and comprises a boarding school for 1st and 2nd class boarders, a day school for 1st and 2nd class day-scholars, and an English teaching Madrasa poor school. Altogether there are upwards of 200 pupils.

The Church Mission High School is situated at the junction of the Lawrence and Mission Roads, in a large compound where formerly stood

the Katcherry of the Collector. It has a large attendance, and in connection with it, situated in the town, are one of the Gujarātee boys' schools, and the Marathi girls' school.

The Parsees have two schools, one a small one in the Rāmbāgh quarter, which they entirely support, and the "Verbaijee" Anglo-Vernacular School, which receives a grant in aid. This latter is in Frere Street, and occupies a house, given for the purpose by a resident at Kurrachee, Mr. Homurjee H. Sopariwāla. Both boys and girls are educated here, the language in use being Gujarātee.

The school for Europeans and Indo-Europeans residing in Sind, is situated in the Depôt Lines, and was founded in 1854, during the administration of Sir Bartle Frere. The education comprises the three R's, with mathematics, geography, and history for boys and girls, and with sewing, knitting, &c., as peculiar to the latter. Religious instruction is given to both sexes, but music and drawing are extras.

All these advantages are to be obtained for a monthly fee payable by each child in proportion to the income of his, or her parents. The fees range from one rupee on a revenue per month of Rs. 50, to Rs. 12 on a stipend of Rs. 400, and upwards; so that all classes of residents are included; and the regulations are so elastic that the managing committee has power to reduce the payments still more, in the case of parents who have no fixed income.

The school building is of stone, and was erected in 1874-75 on the designs of Captain (now Colonel) Thomas F. Dowden, of the Royal (Bombay) Engineers. It has large lower and upper floors, and affords accommodation for about 50 boarders, in addition to class-rooms capable of holding about 200 pupils.

The Kurrachee School Board is composed of six native gentlemen, and it must be allowed that the expenses of the *Establishment*, which do not exceed Rs. 100 per annum, are exceedingly moderate. It has already been mentioned that the ladies of the Saint Joseph Convent afford their kindly assistance, and it should be added that the Port Engineer, Mr. Price, who resides at Manora, supervises the well-conducted Humby Vernacular School on that Promontory, and that Mr. Strachan, Engineer and Secretary to the Municipality, is able to combine the secretarial duties of the School Board, with his other multitudinous and arduous engagements,

The Sind Arts College dates from 1882, when a number of native gentlemen of the town addressed a memorial to the Educational

Commission then sitting at Calcutta, urging that body to recommend the foundation of an Arts College for the Province of Sind. The Association formed for its promotion was so successful that in the same year they were able to announce that the Endowment Fund exceeded Rs. 100,000, and that an annual income of nearly Rs. 30,000 had been secured: to this sum Government agreed to contribute Rs. 10,000, the Sind Municipality Rs. 13,000, and the Sind District Local Board Rs. 6,700. The College was opened by Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, on the 17th January, 1887. The management and control are vested in a Board, consisting of representatives of the Government, of the Founders' Association, and of the contributing Municipalities and District Local Boards, the President *ex-officio* being the Commissioner in Sind, for the time being. The Staff comprises Professors of Mathematics, Science, Logic, Moral Philosophy, History and Political Economy, and in languages, of English, Sanskrit, and Persian. Geography is not mentioned, but its study might be added with advantage to the curriculum. A class for instruction in Surveying and Drawing has recently been added.

The following books were prescribed by the Educational Inspector in Sind for the Public Service First Grade Certificate Examination of Boys and Girls in 1889, and they were bound to pass in two languages, English being compulsory, but the second they might select: In English they had to possess a knowledge of Shakespere's Henry VIII, Southey's Life of Nelson, and Stopford Brook's Primer of English Literature; and for a second language, they could choose, in *French*, Lamartine's *Cristophe Colomb*; in *German*, Schiller's *Die Piccolimini*; *Sindhi*, 6th Departmental Reading Book; *Gujarāthi*, 7th Departmental Reading Book; or in *Urdū*, Rasūm-i-Hind. A pretty stiff examination for children in their 'teens!

While providing the means of education, the Municipality has not been regardless of the physical requirements of the inhabitants, and has recently taken over several of the open spaces that existed in the town, and converted them into gardens, and at the same time has improved those which already existed.

Owing to the poorness of the soil, and the want of water, difficulty is naturally encountered, in rendering any open space verdant and picturesque, but the Government Garden, which covers an area of about 40 acres, has had a good deal of care bestowed upon it, and is neatly laid out with trees and shrubs, and even fountains. It contains also a

small zoological collection, but this is very expensive, and by no means a success. Wild animals do not thrive in captivity in their own country; they pine and grow thin and scabby, probably because the heat which is just bearable in the jungle, is insufferable in confinement. A tiger when brought to England improves in appearance, and the specimens to be seen in the Regent's Park are certainly handsomer than those of any collection in India, or that are roaming about, with their full liberty, in the open country.

With jackals, foxes, and wolves, the result is the same, but the monkeys seem to make themselves contented anywhere.

Government Garden formed probably a part of the ground surrounding the old Factory, the site of which is marked on the map of Commander Carless; it is much frequented by the residents, and the Tramway Company has recently decided to construct a line from Max Denso Hull in the Bandar, along the Napier and Lawrence Roads, to the Garden gates, for their accommodation. This will also afford great convenience to the lovers of cricket, for there is a fairly good ground situated at the northern extremity of the gardens.

Doctor Burn's Garden between the Elphinstone and Kutchery Roads, has been in course of formation for some fifteen years, but the Erskine Garden, and one in the compound of the Frere Hall, were only laid out in 1887-88. The waterworks will now afford facilities for the cultivation of all these open places, that never previously existed and to some extent will supply the want of rain, which, now and then, is greatly felt. The Municipality behaves generously as regards the improvements recommended by the Garden Committee, and, as already stated, private liberality has supplied several fountains.

The local supplies of fruit and vegetables, are very inadequate to the demand for them, but, fortunately, Hydrabād is surrounded by nursery-gardens and orchards, and from that city large quantities are brought down by the railway.

(Cricket is becoming an institution throughout India, as is proved by the fact, that a Parsī eleven recently appeared in England. They were not very successful, but allowance must be made for them, for it should be remembered that their wickets are generally pitched, not on a smooth and well mowed sward, but in arid, gritty sand.)

The natives at least put plenty of energy and activity into the game; there is nothing of that graceful sliding step and stately movement that the Eton or Harrow boy displays when "over" is called, and

he has to cross to the other side in full view of his admiring sisters and cousins, but there is rather a hurry and skurry as though the players were anxious to keep the ball a-rolling.

There are Gymkhana, Volunteer and Zoroaster Cricket Clubs, and although ladies do not congregate in such numbers as they do at Lord's, yet the groups of spectators are not without colour and effect, for the white dresses, and the gaudy turbans, and scarves and shawls worn by the natives, all help to make a pleasing picture, although the green foreground may be missing. The "week" is in October.

Lawn-tennis courts are to be found at every station in India; in most places they are of asphalt, and the players, in view of the heat, manage to reduce their expenditure of physical power, by employing a number of native lads to pick up the balls. The next generation will, I think, be clever at the pastime, for I watched a quartette of boys at Hyderabād, who, in the temporary absence of their employers, had annexed their properties in bats and balls, and maintained a match with great dexterity and precision.

On Thursday evenings during the summer months, when a Native Regiment is quartered in the town, another amusement is afforded on the ground opposite to the Native Infantry Lines, to which the inhabitants resort in large numbers. This is the *Mulakhra*, or athletic sports, where the Balochees display their agility in running, wrestling, and other active exercises.

Of course there is a race-course. I do not think there is a station in India, where half a battalion is quartered, that has not got its meeting, and the number throughout the country during any one year, must be enormous. Interest in the pastime reaches to a lower grade than it does elsewhere. Not only do the officers and civilians at a station run their horses, but the extra pay obtained in India frequently allows a sergeant, and even a private, to keep his *tat*. Quite recently I came across a trooper of a cavalry regiment, who had seen service during the Mutiny, and had since then passed the greater part of his life in India, and who was joyfully starting again for that country, looking forward with glee to an increase of his income by picking up and turning to account some useful pony, which, with his long experience in horse-flesh, he would be sure to discover on his arrival.

Rackets is another amusement, and it is stated that the word *Gymkhana* really signifies a *ball-room*, not in the sense of a saloon for dancing, but in that of a place or shed where a round object *(gend)* is thrown about.

But dancing is also an amusement, and the Frere Hall provides ample space for public and private balls, for amateur theatricals, and for other sources of indoor recreation. There is only one recognised theatre, that of the Parsees, but a company frequently goes up from Bombay and gives a few performances for their own pecuniary advantage, and the amusement of the residents.

So altogether life in Kurrachee can be rendered bearable, and when the season ends, that is to say about October, all those who hold any official position start for the *mofussil*, taking with them so many attendants that during their absence in "the district," the town is nearly denuded of its inhabitants. Some travel with regular encampments, and pitch their tents wherever it may suit their fancy; others have saloon carriages attached to the railway trains, and make them their home for weeks; while the officials connected with the irrigation department pass a pleasant life in their steamers on the Indus and on the canals, some of which are themselves very respectable rivers.

There are few toilers in this world who are better deserving of a holiday than those of our countrymen who cast their lot in the great eastern Empire, no matter whether they be employed in the army, the civil service, on public works, or in mercantile pursuits. It is not only that their daily hours of labour are quite as long as those of persons similarly employed at home, notwithstanding the great difference of climate, but it results from the fact that the feeling of personal responsibility is never removed from the shoulders of anyone, holding a position of authority.

In England, a Secretary of State, the head of a department, or the senior partner of a mercantile or banking firm, may absent himself for a considerable period, but the business of which he has the conduct will pursue its *ordinary* course, just in the same way as though he had been present, and should anything *extraordinary* occur there would always be some *employé*, perhaps only a junior clerk, possessing sufficient knowledge of his chief's transactions to serve as a stop-gap, and to prevent any serious detriment being incurred, until he should be able to communicate with his superiors. In a Government office, or house of business, there must of necessity be many questions reserved for the consideration of the principals, but in ordinary matters there is an unbroken chain connecting them with their humblest servant, and they may start upon their holiday relieved of responsibility, and with the fullest confidence that nothing untoward will occur during their absence. But in India the

case is very different. There is no continuity of interest, of nationality, or of language.

The wing commander of a Regiment is an English officer, his second in command may be a native *subadar;* the head of a public works department is probably an officer of the Royal Engineers, his second is a native gentleman, who has won that position through his own ability and careful study; the agent of a bank or commercial house is an European, his head cashier is a native; a leading solicitor is an Englishman, and has a large staff of clerks, all of whom are natives. Now, all these natives, who are employed in the different branches that I have mentioned, are gentlemen possessing every qualification for their various offices, and are fully capable of performing their duties under all *ordinary* circumstances, and will faithfully follow the instructions that may be given to them; but when an *extraordinary* occasion arises, one entirely unforeseen, and regarding which they have no instructions, then they are "nowhere." A link is wanting between the chief and his second, and the latter cannot even become the stop-gap until the former be consulted. Hence arises the constant responsibility that rests on the shoulders of an English official in India, and it is as impossible to relieve him of it, as it is unkind to attempt to throw it on his native subordinates, who possess every qualification for the general routine of business, but whose courage fails them in the moment of emergency. There are many legislators, philanthropists, and other gentlemen who claim a right to speak on Indian matters, and who are anxious to elevate the educated natives to lofty and independent positions, but I am inclined to think that if they rendered a more careful study to the daily official life of that country, they would hesitate before laying upon them a heavier burden than they are at the present time capable of bearing.

You must first insert the link that is now missing between the English chief and his native subordinate; you must educate the latter to a higher standard, not only in the point of inducing him to adopt as his own, our language; but also in leading him to accept and follow our ideas of government, and to regard them as those which must inevitably have sway throughout the Empire. Then, and not until then, will spring up a feeling of confidence between the employer and employed, which will confer on the latter the determination and resolution which are now deficient qualities, and which will enable the former to take his holidays with a much smaller burden of responsibility than that which now weighs upon him. But while there is even now a strong party working towards

this end—a party that is most anxious to draw closer the relations between Europeans and natives—there is, on the other side, a band of unprincipled demagogues, constantly endeavouring to instil into the native population notions of personal government, of Radicalism, of Socialism—notions which they are absolutely unfit to entertain, but which serve to subvert the good that the honest servants of England, and the well-wishers of India, might otherwise effect.

The *district* will afford some sport to those who may be inclined to follow it, but it must be confessed that there is very little amusement for a *gun* in the immediate neighbourhood of Kurrachee; even the wild pigs, that in earlier days occupied the Maugrove Swamp, have entirely disappeared; and snipe, which, according to Captain Hart, were in his time very abundant, are now scarce. Rock grouse, florican and quail are found on the hills, and partridges are supplied to the markets, but I think that they are chiefly brought down by railway. Wherever there is water, plenty of wild-fowl will be met with during the winter months; and I was surprised to find how tame the geese and ducks and teal were, and how ignorant of the purposes of a gun, even in the immediate neighbourhood of small villages in the Hydrabād district. Sitting one evening in the Court-house at Alahyar-yo-Tando, a town in the Hālā Deputy Collectorate, twenty-five miles east of Hydrabād, and containing about 4,000 inhabitants, I was struck with the amount of *life* that I could see around me. Green, long-tailed parrakeets were chattering on all sides and in endless numbers; ducks and geese were flying over head; pigeons and turtle doves covered the roofs of neighbouring out-houses; crows paced the compound so tame, that they would not move out of the way; sand-rails pirouetted on the floor of the bungalow, constantly bobbing up and down; and sparrows chirruped on the rafters. Little, long-tailed grey squirrels—very pretty and graceful when in movement, but having much the appearance of lizards when stretched at full length in the act of feeding—were rushing about everywhere; and a number of hawks and other birds of prey were perched on the surrounding walls, probably selecting some fat little victims for consumption at their evening meal. The mention of Alahyar brings to my recollection another circumstance which is not devoid of a certain pathos. In the middle of the Hospital square, overshadowed by a noble tree that stands out solitary and erect, like a sentinel on guard, at the head of a little grave, has been raised a stone to the memory of an English child, "aged one," who died in 1846, son of Apothecary George ————. My notes are so blurred and

indistinct, through an accidental ducking from the top of my camel, that I cannot deciper the surname, but they remind me that the monument is surrounded by a wall of *pukkah* brick, which was in extremely good repair at the time of my visit.

Through the stormy times that followed the conquest of Sind, through the dangers that threatened us in that Province in the period of the Mutiny—dangers that were only averted by the firmness and determination of Sir Bartle Frere and his staff,—the record of the death of that little baby has survived, and during the forty years that have elapsed since the monument was erected, some kind hand must have tended it, and some watchful eye must have seen to its preservation.

The hands and the eyes that have guarded the tomb, and the kindly hearts that guided them, must have belonged to our brethren and fellow subjects of the far east, for no Englishman resides at Alahyar, and I only met one inhabitant who could speak our language.

The *only* earthenware plate to be found in the town, was used for the repast with which the *Mukhtyarkar*, or chief native officer, politely provided me. It was of the old willow pattern, correctly depicted, with the bridge, and birds, and men, that have been commemorated in the nursery doggerel which, according to my wife's version, runs as follows :

Two pigeons flying high,
In the blue and sunny sky ;
There the boathouse stands close by,
With weeping willow, drooping o'er,
A bridge with three men, and no more;
An apple tree, with fruit thereon,
And a little fence to end my song;

and it was impressed with the trade mark, "Jabez Blackhurst, stoneware K and B."

Of fish there is a plentiful supply, and of very good quality. Kurrachee has a reputation for its turtle and its oysters, but the coast also abounds with sharks and saw-fish. There is evidently a considerable muddle in the last passage, for I have distinctly classified reptiles and mollusks among the fishes ; perhaps I am not altogether incorrect, although inaccurate, for a fish is defined as "an animal living in the water," and tortoises and oysters certainly do that. Turtle-turning is a great amusement of the convalescent patients, at the Ghizree Sanitarium, and there is a considerable trade in them as well, for large numbers are sent down to the markets of Bombay. The oyster beds were formerly farmed for pearl fishing, but nowadays they are applied to an useful,

instead of an ornamental purpose, and large quantities find their way up country.

In Kurrachee, and in those stations which can only be supplied from that port, everyone is satisfied with them, but when some point is reached, nearly equi-distant by railway from it and Bombay, then comes the tug of war. One host will emphasize the fact that he never allows Kurrachee oysters to be brought to his table, because they are pearl oysters and not fit for eating; while another will quote cases that have come to his knowledge of whole families being poisoned, through consuming the bivalves from Bombay. I will not attempt to decide between the wordy opponents, and will only say that the two classes of mollusks are of moderate size and well flavoured, but that neither of them possesses the delicate and enticing appearance of a Whitstable *native*. A similar war is waged about the *Palla* and the *Pomfret*, although I believe that as regards the latter, Kurrachee bears the palm, and that the fact is conceded even by Bombay.

The Palla, Pullo, or Palo, for its name is written in several different forms, has been called the *salmon* of India, and is not dissimilar in shape and size, but its scales are deficient in the lustre and glitter, which distinguish the inhabitant of northern waters. It is generally about two feet long and has a most delicate flavour, but is very full of bones, and so rich from the quantity of oil it contains, that many people cannot eat it.

The Pomflet, or Pomfret has neither of these defects, and supplies at dinners in India the place of the turbot, but is much more delicate than that fish. There are two kinds, the *Sargutali* and *Halwa*, or black Pomflet. The former is the one more usually seen on the table, but the latter is considered a great delicacy by epicures. It is a flat fish, and about the size of a very large flounder. Mullet is also abundant, and attains a large size, and, with several other sorts of fish, is brought to market from the Indus. Rigan and Seeree, varieties of the cod have already been mentioned as being largely exported, their sounds being highly valued, as also sharkfins for which China is the principal market.

To eat dirt is an expression used by us, in the sense of *putting up with insults*, but in the East it is a form of punishment.

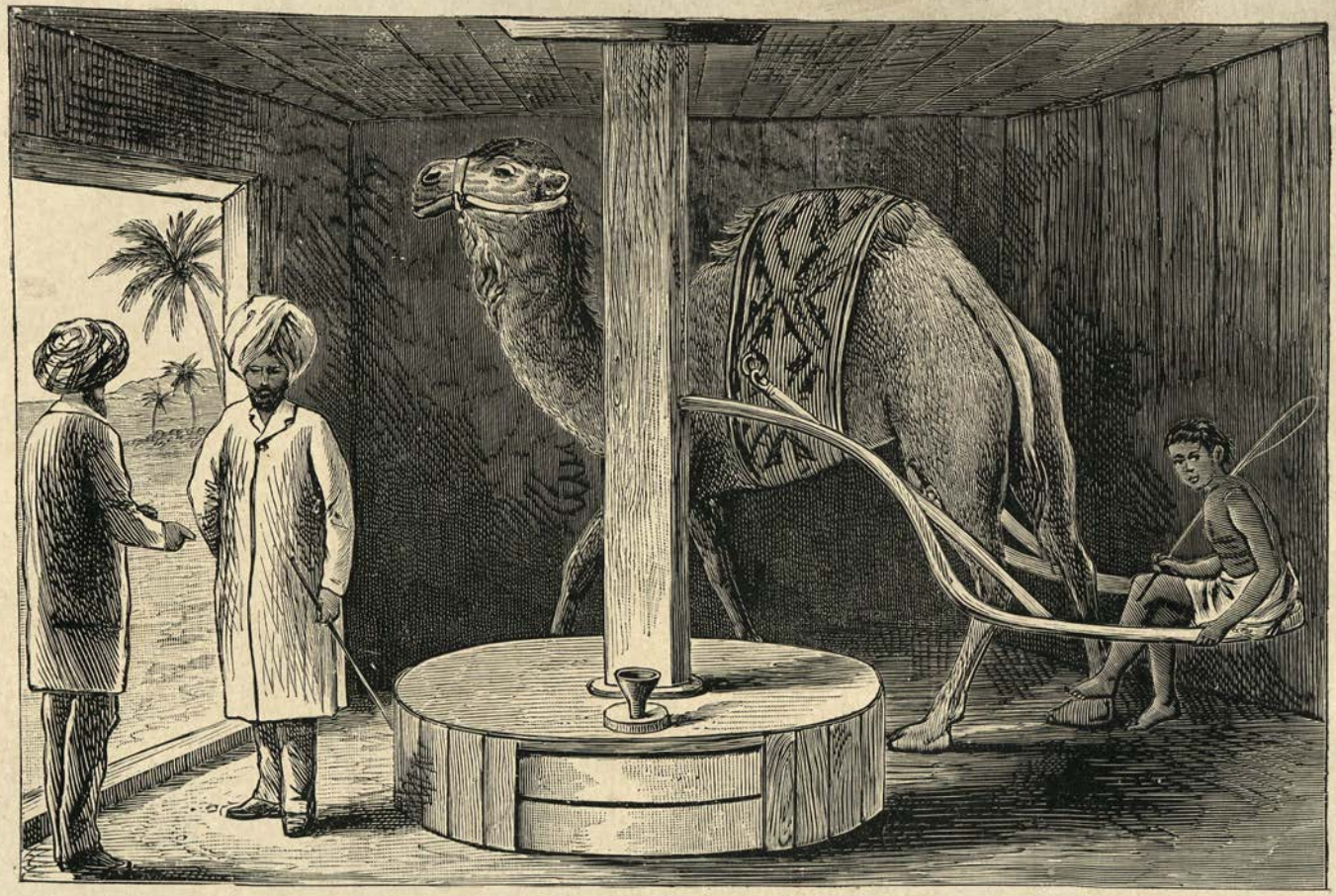
Why the good people of Kurrachee calmly, and of their own accord, suffered for many years this infliction, I cannot say, but undoubtedly each of them must have consumed much more than the "peck" which

is assigned to every mortal. To make bread, wheat must be ground; and to make good bread the flour should be clean, and not mixed with camel-hair, with floor-sweepings, and with other defilements which form a large portion of the ingredients of the Kurrachee staff of life. I believe that there is now a steam flour-mill, but three years ago the wheat was all ground between stones worked by camels.

There were about 80 of these mills scattered over the town, chiefly in the filthiest purlieus of the old city. In the middle of a shed, about 16 feet square, and 8 feet in height, are fixed the grindstones, and from the staple in the middle projects a pole, at the end of which is a bar. To this is harnessed with traces the unfortunate camel, whose duty is to trudge round for 11 hours every day, and in order to keep him moving, a tiny naked boy is perched at the end of the pole, whip in hand.

The flooring is neither of stone nor brick, but simply of compressed earth, from which the dust rises with every pace of the camel. I am, however, wrong in saying that all the wheat was ground in this fashion, for at the very time of which I speak there existed a fine well-arranged establishment, with double boilers and engines, good elevators, fans and drying ground, capable of grinding a sufficient supply of corn for the whole of the European population of the town, and said to have cost a lakh of Rupees.

This is the Government Bakery situated in the Commissariat Stores, close to the Garden Road, which is maintained at considerable expense solely for the use of that class of residents, whom the Municipality designates as "all others," namely, the troops in cantonments. Their total daily consumption, including the detachments at Hydrabād, to whom bread is sent by train, amounts to five bags of flour, to supply which 12 partial days' work per month amply suffice. For the remainder of the year the Mill, which is exceedingly well ordered, stands idle, and the Bakery only is used, but, of course, the staff of engineers, stokers, and others has to be maintained. A native mill grinds about six maunds per day, and the total output is therefore about 480 maunds, or say 140 bags of flour daily. This is a considerable consumption, and a great deal more than the Government Bakery could turn out, but if it had only sold to the general public one tenth of the quantity, it could have furnished the troops with bread, almost without cost, for the profit on grinding is very large. At the time of which I am writing, there existed in the town a large building, exceedingly well adapted for a mill, and already



Native Flour Mill—(from a Sketch).

fitted with several engines by Tangye. It will surprise many people who may remember the great "Date Coffee" Bubble, to learn, that in Kurrachee there actually was erected a factory for grinding date-stones, for it has been generally supposed that the whole thing was a gross swindle. But such was the case, and stones were baked and ground, and the produce was sold, it is said, with considerable advantage, to the manager. The bubble suddenly burst, and the factory was left empty, except for the machinery. Here was a fine opportunity for starting a Bakery, but, as I have already stated, the residents are not enterprizing, and the chance was allowed to slip.

The sheep of Sind produce a better wool than is found in most parts of India, but I cannot speak highly of the mutton; and the beef of the Punjāb and North-West Provinces is certainly preferable to that of Kurrachee. Goats abound, and kids form a staple article of food, and the domestic fowls are larger and better fed than the ordinary *murgh*.

Now that I am writing about the food supplies I should like to mention *Hunter's* or *Hunters'* beef. I do not know whether it takes its name from that of the inventor, or whether it is a joint prepared for sportsmen and hunting men.

The Glossary of Colonel Yule does not, I think, mention it, but it is known all over India, and must have been discovered many years ago, for a very old lady who was present with her husband's regiment at the storming of Bhurtpore in 1826, has informed me that at that time she had often eaten it. It is the round of beef, salted, spiced, and covered with a layer of pastry. It is then baked and allowed to cool in its covering, and when this is removed, it forms a most appetizing dish: as short and tender in eating as one of those delicacies, incorrectly called a buffalo-hump, which used to be common in London but are now becoming rare, owing to the gradual disappearance of the North-American bison. The method of roasting, or rather baking, game and fowls in a coating of pastry, or even of clay, is common to many countries, but the man who first applied the principle to a preparation of a joint of beef deserves immortality. Buffaloes are very numerous in Sind, especially on the swamps neighbouring on the Indus. From their milk is made the *ghee*, which is largely employed for domestic purposes, and exported in great quantities. The milk is also used for tea and coffee, but not to so great an extent as in other parts of India, for the Sind cows, though small, are very fair milkers. The bullocks are

equally small, and are chiefly used in the native carts, and for turning the Persian wheel, but occasionally there may be seen on the roads, attached to the carriage of a wealthy native, some fine specimens of the celebrated oxen of Guzerāt.

Sind, in many districts, would be impassable without its camels. There are parts that no horse can traverse, on account of the deepness of the sand. They are finer in the limbs than those of Arabia, but are better looking animals, from being better fed. Great numbers were sent to Egypt during the recent campaigns, and their loss, for they never returned, is stated to have caused a noticeable diminution in the number now existing; but it was still worse that very few of their drivers came back, and as a *shutur-ban* is born, not made, it is very difficult to replace him. The present drivers are said to be much inferior to their predecessors, and it is added that serious injury might arise, if there should be a sudden demand for large droves of camels. The creature is probably the most ill-tempered and malicious animal in the world, and designedly so, for it possesses considerable intelligence, and if it thought that it could improve its position by displaying a little more amiability, undoubtedly it would change its habits. But it seems almost insensible to kindness, and it is very difficult to win its affections. It did not appear that cruelty was shewn to the camels in Sind; on the contrary, I have seen the drivers petting them, and enticing them with some sort of delicacy peculiarly adapted to their taste, but they scarcely appreciate the attempt at familiarity, Hard swearing is what they seem to understand, and certainly a camel-driver is a proficient in the art of cursing and using profane language. The animals almost seem to retort in the same way, for when struck with the baton, or annoyed by a pull on the guiding rein (*Mahâr*), the usual grunt is changed to a semi-scream that might well be an oath. But in Sind, as in Arabia, they are invaluable, and when their numbers decreased at the time of the Egyptian campaign, a decline in the trade of many out-lying sandy districts was immediately noted, and it was found that bullock-carts were very poor substitutes. The ordinary load of a baggage camel is six and a half *maunds*, or say lbs. 520, and his rate of travelling is about 25 miles a working-day, but a good riding animal will march at the rate of 5 miles an hour for a full day, without food or water during the journey.

I looked forward with some dread to my first experience on camel back, but I did not suffer the slightest inconvenience from it, and found a long march less tiring than it would have been on horseback.

The saddle was adjusted to carry two persons, the driver sitting on the hump, and the passenger behind it.

The start is rather a difficult operation; when the riders are seated, at the word of command the animal commences to rise; it first lifts itself into a kneeling posture which throws the riders backwards, then with a tremendous upheaval it gets on its hind-legs, pitching them forward, and finally straightens the fore-legs. The method of progress is different to that of a horse, the camel raises two legs on the same side simultaneously, and then the other two, and the movement is consequently something like that of a boat impelled by the swinging of a person seated in the stern.

The indigenous horse of Southern Sind is extremely small, but little larger than a good-sized English donkey, and is chiefly used as a pack-horse, carrying a weight of four maunds. The horses in Kurrachee that are used for riding and driving are almost all brought from Beluchistan, Northern Sind, and the Punjāb. The donkeys are, I think, even smaller than those of Egypt; a drove of them resembles a herd of goats, but they are hardy, useful little animals, and carry a weight of about lbs. 120 each.

As compared with the cost in England, horse-keep is not expensive in Sind, but the fluctuations in the price of grains and grasses are very great. They are entirely dependent on the rains and the flooding of the Indus. The two principal grains are *bajri* and *jawar*, in Sindee *juwāri*. The latter is a sort of millet, and the former is a panicle which is described under various scientific names, but which is known throughout India as bajree. They are sold at so many pounds to the rupee, and fluctuate between 25 and 35. The new crops come in the last quarter of the year. Indian corn sells at about 40 lbs. for the rupee, and grain 30 to 40. *Kurbee* is the straw of juwāri, and is highly appreciated by all beasts of burden, including oxen and camels, but the former are also fed largely on cotton seed, and the latter on oil-cake. Grass and hay vary in price more than any other article of consumption. The best sort may sometimes be purchased at Rs. 9 for 1,000 lbs., and at others it rises to Rs. 30.

Houses for the accommodation of Europeans and domestics for their services, are alike scarce and expensive. The speculative builder has not yet approached Kurrachee, and although new bungalows are springing up, it is seldom that any are to be let. The best situations are in *Camp*, in Somerset, Elphinstone and Frere Streets, but many of the

houses in this quarter belong to the military authorities, and if required for the family of an officer the civilian occupant has to vacate at short notice.

Seventy to one hundred and twenty rupees per month is the rental of a bungalow with ordinary accommodation, and a small compound within *camp limits*, where anyone who wishes to be visited, or has any pretensions to enter *Society* must, of necessity, reside. Beyond those sacred confines houses may be had at rentals from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60 per month.

In the last five years the value of land and of house property has increased considerably, and the wealthy natives would seem to expect a further improvement, for they buy up whatever may be offered for sale.

Servants' wages are exceedingly high as regards those engaged in household work, as also for coachmen, grooms, gardeners, &c. The best cooks are from Goa; they will turn out a very fair dinner, but their personal cleanliness and that of the *bawarchi-khana*, or cook-houses, for they cannot be called kitchens, and of the saucepans and other utensils, are not enticing. Their wages range from Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 per month.

Khānsāmān or *Consumah* is used generally to designate the footman or butler who waits at table, although I believe that the word in that sense was originally adopted in Bengal. He is Goanese, Hindū, or Mahommedan (the former commands the highest wages), and receives Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 per month. *Hammāls* or *Bearers* are chiefly Hindūs, and come from all parts of India, many of them from Oudh and the north-west, and earn from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 monthly. *Sā'is*, coachmen, grooms, and horsekeepers, are generally Sindees, but those who come down from the Punjāb are both better and less costly, and their wages range from Rs. 10 to Rs. 14 per month.

Molly! Molly! uttered by a young girl, would lead one to suppose that she required the services of her nurse or maid, but that is not the case. It is the *māli* or gardener to whom she is calling, whose services are being largely requisitioned since the new waterworks hold out a prospect of successful horticultural experiments. He is a Hindū, and is paid Rs. 10. Would that there were some "Mollys," for the ladies of Kurrachee complain greatly of the scarcity of good and trustworthy female attendants.

It is said that the *āyās* have a happy knack of quieting the babies committed to their charge with soporifics, not usually prescribed by

medical advisers; and that when reprimanded for minor faults they are apt to take offence very quickly, and to leave their employers in the lurch at the very shortest notice. Females are comparatively scarce, as they are only about seven of them to eleven males, according to the last census.

The high rate of wages is probably the reason that fewer servants are employed in any one house in Kurrachee than would be considered absolutely essential in an establishment of similar size in other parts of India, and that the residents have to relinquish, not only comforts, but some things that elsewhere are regarded as necessities.

Situated, as it is, upon the coast, the climate is less trying than in more inland districts; but, notwithstanding the sea breezes that favour it, the heat is sometimes terrific. Yet there are scarcely any *pankhas*, and the *wālā* to attend to them finds no employment. I have met with them in two or three public departments, but they have been put in motion by small boys and not by regular *coolies*. The *tatti*, or grass screen, I have never seen in public or private houses in Kurrachee. In the old town the *badgir*, "seizer of the wind," or windsail, is still fixed on the summit of many houses, which certainly ought to be thoroughly ventilated, for the wind blows with terrific force up the harbour, and sometimes obstructs locomotion.

The trollies that are used on the light tramways at Manora, for carrying the materials that are employed in the construction of the batteries, and for other purposes, are fitted with a mast and sail, which impel them effectually, and, it is said, that at one period the residents adapted similar appliances to private trollies, neatly upholstered as carriages, with seats and cushions, and only desisted from the practice on account of the danger to pedestrians. I have already mentioned the dense dust-storms which sometimes visit the town, and that hide from view vehicles approaching from opposite directions, until so close that a collision is avoided with difficulty; but so powerful is the force of the gale that, on occasions, drifts along the narrow and exposed Napier Causeway, that tramcars have not only been prevented from advancing, but have actually been driven backwards, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the horses; and I believe there is no exaggeration in stating that gardening plots, carefully laid out on the rocky spit of Manora, have been bodily upheaved and removed to some distance in the course of a night.

CHAPTER XI.

MUGGER PEER AND MAURYPOOR.

COMMANDER CARLESS, to whom I have repeatedly referred in the course of this work, mentions in his memoir on the "Bay, Harbour, and Trade of Kurrachee," that the only part in the neighbourhood of that town worth visiting is the Valley of Peer Mungah, but, after giving a most interesting account of his inspection, he remarks that "it will long be remembered by me as the most loathsome spot I ever beheld." The particular spot that created so strong a feeling of aversion in the mind of Carless is the home of the sacred alligators, and the visit that I paid to them left so deep an impression on my own mind, that for several nights afterwards, my slumbers were constantly disturbed. The alligator is, individually, an odious reptile, and when a large number are congregated together, as pourtrayed in the picture that I present to my readers, the word *loathsome* hardly expresses the feeling of disgust that the spectacle offers. The original of this picture was taken under circumstances of difficulty and danger, and is, I believe, the only one that exists. It has been lent to me by Messrs. W. M. Spooner and Co., the well-known photographic printsellers, of Southampton Street, Strand, and is said to have been taken by a sergeant of the 33rd (Duke of Wellington's) Regiment, who ran considerable risk during the operation. To avoid the attendants at the shrine, who did not comprehend the use of a camera, he clambered over a wall, and so found himself in close proximity to the saurians. These he inspected carefully to insure that he was not putting himself within reach of their tails or jaws, and then proceeded to bring a group to a focus. But he had disregarded what appeared to him a heap of mud, lying in obscurity under the wall, and, in his artistic excitement, while seeking for the most suitable spot on which to erect the apparatus he struck the object with his foot. The blow converted the mass of seeming earth into an alligator, that lashed out with its tail, and although the sergeant escaped, his camera was knocked over. Biding his time, he recovered it, and finding a less dangerous position, succeeded in securing

Mugger Peer—The Sacred Alligators.

a photograph, an act which, taking into account the serious danger that had to be encountered, deserves to find a place in the records of photography.

Pir Mangho is the proper designation of the shrine, to which Hindūs and Mohammedāns both resort in large numbers. It is sacred to the memory of a Saint, whose original name was Kamaldīn, but whose designation was changed to that of Pīr Mangho when his bones were removed to that place and interred under a mosque, which has been erected on the summit of a rocky crag. His sanctity has endured for many ages, and long before the date of the British occupation we find that an allowance of oil, to the extent of 7½ *seers*, for illuminating his tomb, was made every month. But the name has become corrupted in a somewhat extraordinary way. *Mangho* has been turned into *magar*, which is the Sanskrit for an alligator or crocodile; and *pir*, which signifies in Persian a holy-man, a saint, is used as an adjective, and thence we get Mugger Peer, as the place is now commonly called, and which, being translated into English, is erroneously construed to mean "the sacred alligators" that the pilgrims to the shrine are supposed to worship. That among the Hindūs there were certain religious prejudices attaching to the loathsome creatures there is no doubt, for at Oodeypoor, in Rajputāna, the shooting of them was prohibited until recently, and at Jeypūr I believe that they are still preserved, but I cannot find that the crocodile has ever been an object of worship, as was the case in ancient Egypt, although it appears in the form of *makar sankrānti*, a Hindū festival held on the day of the sun's entering into the sign of Capricorn, or *Makar*, who is represented as a water animal, with the body and tail of a fish, and the fore-legs, neck, and head of an antelope; and is also found as *sher-i-ābi*, literally a water-tiger, which is the Persian name of an alligator. But the festival in honour of the passing of the sun has nothing to do with the *makar*, for all the prayers and praise offered on that day are addressed to that great luminary, and to no other deity. Moreover, the pilgrims to the shrine of Mangho Pīr are chiefly Mohammedāns, although he is held in great esteem by the Hindūs.

The idea that the hateful inhabitants of the muddy pools at Mangho are in any way sacred, or connected originally with the shrine—an opinion which has now been held for a long period—ought therefore to be at once discarded. They have probably dwelt there so long as the warm springs have been in existence, and, as they now form an attraction to visitors, the priests and guardians do their best to preserve them,

and to maintain a belief in their sanctity, and reap a little harvest by the sale of goats and kids to those people who care to witness the savage spectacle of feeding the voracious creatures. These guardians still point out the "chief" who lives by himself, and the *Mōr*, or Peacock, which they consider to be the progenitor of the whole race, and unblushingly assure the visitor that they are the same animals that were pointed out to Carless fifty years ago. This, doubtlessly, is drawing the long-bow a little too far, but I should be inclined to think that an alligator might live to a great age if sufficiently powerful to resist the attacks of his own kindred. They seem constantly to destroy one another, or to endeavour to do so, for of the hundreds that are gathered at Mangho there are a great many that are maimed in one way or another; some have broken noses, some have lost a portion of the tail, others have been blinded of one or both eyes, and several are toeless. But one of the priests, who possessed considerable intelligence, and had evidently interested himself in the domestic life of saurians, was able to give me approximately the date of birth of several animals, and from his information I should conclude that an alligator arrives at maturity at the same age as human beings; and seeing that when once he has taken a position in life, and appropriated to himself some quiet pool, he has no worries or troubles to disturb his peaceful vegetation, he may well live the number of years allotted to man, and perhaps exceed them.

Pīr Mangho is only distant seven and a-half miles to the north of Kurrachee, and for the greater part of the journey the road is fairly good, but towards the end there is a steep ascent, as the shrine stands nearly 600 feet above the level of the sea, and it is advisable to attach a third horse to the visitor's carriage.

The thermal springs lie in the valley below. The tradition is that they owe their existence to Lāl Shāhbāz, a saint who is said to have come originally from Khorasān, in whose honour a fair is held annually at Sehwan, and who, in order to make the spot holy, commanded them to burst forth from the rocks. Close to Sehwan there is also a spring, having a temperature ranging from 100 deg. to 120 deg. Fah., of which perhaps, the saint was likewise the promoter. The principal spring at Mangho flows in a small stream from under a clump of date-trees, and falls into a natural basin, whence it escapes in numerous rills to the surrounding gardens, and then seeks the low lands forming a number of small swamps, in which dwell the alligators. The water in the basin is tasteless and colourless, but of a temperature of about 130 deg. Fah. It

is this spring which forms the attraction to the natives, who congregate here from all parts to bathe in and drink the waters, which are said to be a remedy for every ailment, and the spectacle of the unfortunate people, covered with skin diseases, and with the spots of leprosy, terribly dirty, and nearly naked, is infinitely more painful, and nearly as disgusting, as that of the alligators, that travellers go to see. Casualties among the natives are, I believe, rare. They move about the hideous creatures almost within their reach, but are seldom attacked, and it is said that buffaloes are never molested, although other large animals are quickly destroyed.

To prevent accidents the space occupied by the brutes has of late years been walled in, and persons now entering the enclosure are notified of the risk they may incur; but it was recently stated that a Mohummedan had his hand bitten off. Now that crocodile leather is employed in the manufacture of purses and cigar-cases I should strongly recommend that Pīr Mangho be turned into an "alligator farm," and that the superfluous stock should be utilised in the home markets. The number of animals could be reduced with advantage, and without any loss of attraction to travellers, and the priests and guardians would increase their profits by the sale of the hides. The only opposing reason to the adoption of this course is the idea that there would be sacrilege in the destruction of a portion of the creatures, but I have already shown that the tradition of their being in any way hallowed is erroneous, and that in other parts of India they are destroyed. I have spoken generally of the denizens of the Pīr Mangho swamps as "alligators," which is the usual designation given to them, but I doubt whether it be absolutely correct. The alligator is stated to be peculiar to America, and its name is derived from the Spanish word *lagárto*, a lizard, while the saurian of Africa and Asia is a crocodile, so called from the Greek word, also signifying a lizard. The creature of the Indus is a *ghariyal*, meaning a crocodile, and has a long snout; while the specimens at Mangho have a thicker and stumpier head. So that it would appear that more than one species is found in Sind, but I am unable to say whether they should be classified as *alligators* or *crocodiles*, nor do I know what prominent distinction separates the two classes.

While recommending a new branch of trade, I may call attention to an older one, situated about the same distance as Pīr Mangho from Kurrachee, but to the westwards, on the road to Sonmeanee. I refer to the Maurypūr or Moach Plain Saltworks. I would not recommend a

traveller to drive out to the Government Depôt simply for pleasure, but would rather advise anyone with a peculiarly sensitive organ of smelling, not to attempt the journey, for after traversing the dry bed of the Lyaree, he will have to cross the *Maidan*, or large plain, on which is deposited the refuse of the city, and which exhales so terrible a stench that probably he would be rendered indisposed at the very outset; but if he be strong enough to resist the effects, then Maurypūr, as exhibiting a peculiar industry of Sind, and one which is the source of a large portion of the Imperial revenue, derived from that Province, is worth a visit. Salt is a natural production of the river Indus, and it was estimated so far back as 1847, that hundreds of millions of tons, of good quality, could be procured in the district lying between Sind and Kachh, and in 1854 the "Kurrachee Salt Company" was formed for the purpose of storing and exporting Sind Salt to Calcutta. At that time there was an excise duty in Sind, and not in Bengal, but when this duty was extended to the latter Presidency, it was found that English salt, exported from Liverpool, was cheaper than that of Sind, and so the trade of the Company declined, and ultimately it ceased to exist.

But Kurrachee had never been dependent on the Indus deposits for the salt that it consumed. The supply was derived from patches of salt earth scattered over the surrounding country, and especially on the western side of the town, and was produced by parties who gained their living by its manufacture, and who were able to sell it in the bāzārs at ten annas for a camel-load of from five to six maunds, and it was retailed at four pounds for a *pice*, which was then worth rather more than a farthing. These patches of salt earth have now been reduced to four bases of supply, under the control of the Salt Department, in the whole of Sind, of which the Maurypūr Moach Works are by far the most considerable. In this establishment there are two good sized bungalows, one for the officers, and the other for the use of the manager and his family; a long row of buildings for domestics and attendants; and a cluster of huts where the native workmen live—altogether about 280 persons reside at the spot. About 300 yards from these buildings is situated the large *compound* or enclosure surrounded by a parapet and ditch, where the salt is produced. Nothing can be more weird and dreary than the whole aspect of the place. It lies on the desert, an arid plain, here and there broken by a dry *nullah*, and mottled in some few places with dwarfed trees and stunted shrubs.

Westwards and northwards are seen the sombre range of hills that separate India Proper from Belochistān, and towards the south, one may discern Rās Muarī, or Capè Monze, from the roof of the manager's bungalow. Eastwards—if a vulture hangs in mid-air, or a falcon swoops on its prey, you feel grateful for the slight change that they momentarily effect, for nothing else is moving in earth or sky, unless indeed you should descry on the horizon, a string of camels slowly approaching the depôt for a load of salt. This is the one excitement, but it does not occur every day, and the operation must be completed quickly, for so valuable is salt, and so strict are the regulations, that no *Kafila* is permitted to remain near the gates of the compound, after an early hour in the afternoon, for fear of robbery.

The works are really salt-fields, on which any respectable native may employ himself who takes out a licence, provided there be room. On complying with this condition, he is assigned a holding containing from twelve to eighteen pans or squares of 25 feet each, with a depth of a few inches. These pans he fills with salt water drawn from a well, which is ready at hand, the depth of which does not exceed nine or ten feet from the top, to the surface of the water. His pump is the ordinary *picottah* or pump-brake, so well known on the banks of the Nile, consisting of a long lever working on an upright post, weighted on the short arm, and carrying a line and bucket on the longer one. With this he pours upon the surface of the pan a few buckets of water, and then his work is done, until the evaporation shall have left a thick coating of salt. The yield and the duration of the operation depend in a great measure on the wind and temperature. With a strong sun and a northerly breeze, a pan will give from ten to twenty maunds in less than 24 hours, but with a westerly breeze it takes much longer. After the evaporation has been completed, the salt is collected and several times washed in clean salt water, and is then stacked in the middle of the compound, the workman receiving one ana for every maund of 28lbs. that he produces to the satisfaction of the overseer.

This stack is like a hill of salt, and contains some 250,000 maunds ready for use; it is covered over with tarpaulins to protect it from the weather.

Ordinary sea-water, that is to say, the water that is left on the surface of the ground by floods or inundations, does not leave any amount of salt worth the trouble of collecting, and the value of the Maurypūr Works is due to the fact that the water has percolated through the soil

for a considerable distance, probably at least three miles. Even at that distance the depôt is too close to the sea, and in June, 1885, the whole works were nearly washed away by a tide which was expected to rise to 9-feet 1-inch, but which rose to 11-feet 3-inches.

The sale price is based first on the duty; to that one anna, the cost of production is added, and six pies for the expenses of administration. Thus with a duty of two-and-a-half rupees, the prime cost at the depôt amounts to Rs. 2, annas 9, and 6 pies per maund, and the transport from Maurypūr to Kurrachee varies, according to the season, from 9 pies to 3 annas. The average consumption is about 8lb. per head, taking the figures of the census of 1881, and it is somewhat remarkable that the quantity used by each individual of the population of the Province, has steadily and largely increased, since the enhancement of the duties in 1879-80, before which date the average consumption per head was under 3lb. This result may, however, to a great extent be fictitious. More stringent measures have recently been adopted to prevent the introduction of illicit salt, and the inhabitants in general are now forced to pay to Government, for the produce that, in former days, they purchased from smugglers, its cost price, with the duty imposed upon it. In order to foster a native industry, that of fish-curing, a salting-yard was opened at Shámapir in 1885-86, and salt was supplied at a nominal rate. The experiment was not successful during its first year, but in the report for 1888-89, it is stated that about 350 tons of fish were cured, nearly the whole being exported by sea, The gross receipts from the salt supply-field at Maurypur during the same year amounted to Rs. 423,087-11-6, and the expenditure to Rs. 27,526-15-3, the net revenue being thus Rs. 395,560-12-3. The total quantity of licit salt actually consumed in the Province amounted to 237,635 maunds, but this is still below the estimate of Sir Richard Temple, who during his tenure of the Governorship of Bombay, calculated that the proper consumption should not be less than 250,000 maunds.

I have previously stated that the work of Europeans in India is by no means so light as might be supposed, from the nature of the climate, but still it must be allowed that there are a great many holidays on which business is wholly, or partially suspended. There are at least fifty days in the year which are recognized officially, as being dedicated especially to religious duties, or to recreation, and to these must be added several more which are wilfully assumed, or which are allowed by local custom. It is not to be supposed that all these holidays are

universal, but it will be seen at once, that if on one day there is a Muhammedan festival, on the second a Parsī, on the third a Hindū, and on the fourth a general holiday, the uniform course of trade and commerce is somewhat put out of gear; for although the Hindū may regard with contempt the religious observances of the Muhammedan, and the two combined may treat with silent disdain the sacred duties of the Christian, yet the different sects of Natives and of Europeans are so closely allied in matters of business, that the absence from the market of one body, must inevitably hinder the operations of the other. But twenty days exclusive of Sundays are actually declared by law, under the Act entitled the "Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881," to be Banks' Public Holidays, and these include the Christian Festivals and Fasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension Day and Good Friday, and the anniversaries of the New Year, and of the Empress's birthday, the celebration of which is probably more general in India than it is at home; and seven Hindū festivals, two noticeable Parsee eras, and the Muharram of the Muhammedans.

The Muharram is a period of mourning fixed according to the Muhammedan Calendar, but movable according to ours. Muharram signifies the first month of the new year, and this may occur in one year as early as August, in another as late as November, for the Muhammedan year is lunar. It is held in honour of Hussun and Hoosein, the second and third Imāms, according to the belief of the *Sheeahs*, who maintain that their father Alī was the first legitimate *Khuleefah*, or successor of Muhammad, whose favourite daughter Fatima, he took to wife, although only the fourth in actual succession to the Prophet. In memory of these two Imāms who were murdered in A.D. 669 and 680 respectively, *tazeeas*, in representation of their tombs at Karbala, are carried in procession, while the bearers and other attendants beat their breasts, and shout, SHAH HUSSUN! SHAH HOSSEIN!

Instead of being a season of sadness and mourning, it is in reality one of rejoicing, and perhaps it is fortunate that the ten days assigned to it by religious edict are confined to two by Government; for it sometimes leads to disturbances of a serious character, between Muhammedans and Hindūs in the great conservative cities of India.

From the lamentations over the sad fate of Shah Hussun and Shah Hossein, the editors of that useful book of reference, "A Glossary

of Anglo-Indian Words," have logically derived the compound word *Hobson-Jobson* which the British soldiers in India applied to a *tumasha*, or native entertainment accompanied by great noise and excitement. The names of the martyrs appear to have passed through the phases of *Baksom Jaksom*, *Hossy Gossy*, and *Hossein Jossen*, and at length settled into Tommy Atkins' form of *Hobson Jobson*.

But it must not be supposed that all Muhammedan religious ceremonies are treated with the same want of devotional fervour as the Muharram. I have been told by a great authority on Muhammedan law, a gentleman who had exceptional facilities for knowing everything that occurred in the interior of the most orthodox families, that in no religious sect in the whole world can be found a closer obedience to the precepts inculcated by their "Book," than among the faithful followers of the Prophet. The *Ramdam* or "month of the fast" is, to the true and strict believer, absolutely a month of abstention, during which he reduces even his sips of water to the minimum quantity, on which life can be sustained. He is not a humbug, like our modern fasting men, with opium under their nails, but a true and honest, religious enthusiast. The Ramdam, or Ramazān, corresponds to the Christian season of Lent, and, although not officially recognized, two days' absence from work are allowed to all Governmental and commercial servants. There are many other days in each year which are observed as holy by both sects of Muhammedans, Sunnīs, and Sheeahs, some of them being held in common, while others are accepted by one and not by the other; but the Ashūrā, or first ten days of the month of Muharram, and the Ramazān'id, are common to both, and I have already stated that the majority of the inhabitants of Kurrachee are Sunnīs.

Of the seven Hindū festivals which are recognized as official holidays, the chief are Holī, Nāriyal Pūrnamā, and the Dīwālī. Holī is the great festival held at the approach of spring in honour of Krishna, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and a *Puranic* Deity. He spent his early days among the cow-herds whose wives are represented as being madly in love with him, and as he played the flute, they came to dance around him, but as all of them could not hold his hand as they danced, he multiplied himself into as many forms as there were women, each one believing that she held the hand of the true Krishna. This is the mythological account, and this is the incident that is celebrated yearly at the somewhat noisy and rowdy carnival which Captain Hamilton, the old traveller to whom I have

previously referred, styled the feast of "Wooly, a fierce fellow in a war with some Giants that infested Sindy."

As Holī heralds the advent of spring, so the *Nāriyal pūrnamā*, literally "the cocoa-nut day," is held in honour of the conclusion of rainy and stormy weather. The date is between the new and full moon of the month of *Shrāwana*, which corresponds to a period in our calendar, between July and August, but sometimes falls in September. The ceremony consists of an imploration to the sea to be benevolent, and to allow the vessels of the harbour to cross its waves without accident or danger, and in order to gain the favour of the great Ocean, each devotee casts a cocoa-nut upon the waters, and sometimes a garland of flowers. Hindūs and Mohummadans join in the festivities, for all alike are interested in the success of the coasting and fishing trades.

The *Dīwāli*, or "feast of lamps," from *dip* a lamp, and *avali*, a row or line, is a festival on the new moon of the month of *Kārtika*, or *Kattī* as it is called in Sindee. The Hindūs in Sind use the *sambat*, or era which dates from the death of Vikram, king of Ujjain, which took place B.C. 57, and this *sambat* begins on the 1st day of Kattī, which corresponds to portions of our months of October and November. The festival was originally celebrated in honour of Kāl, or Kāli Mā, "the black mother," a Hindoo deity of terrific aspect. She is represented as dancing on Siva, her own husband, holding in one hand a sword, and in a second, for altogether she has four, the head of Raktavija, a giant, whom she had slain. Her earrings are two dead bodies, her necklace is made of skulls, and her girdle of dead men's hands. She is so horrible that she appears to have been superseded by Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnū, to whom the honours of the Dewālī are at the present time especially consecrated.

Vishnū is the second person of the Hindū Triad, second, but not inferior, to Brahmā, and Siva is the third. The rows of lamps and other illuminations are in memory of the procession of a number of women holding lighted lamps in their hands, to meet Vishnū, after his successful combat with the king Naraka, in whose women's apartments he found 16,100 damsels.

Lakshmi, or Srī, as she is commonly called, is stated to have

> "Up floated, on her lotus bed,
> A maiden fair and tender-eyed,
> In the young flush of beauty's pride.'*

and is regarded as the goddess of Love, Beauty, and Prosperity.

* The Rāmāyana of Valmiki.—R. T. H. Griffiths.

The Dewālī, in her honour, is a combination of house-cleaning and white-washing; of stock-taking, and of closing accounts; of a little worship and of a great deal of gambling. Its duration is properly only for two days, but in Kurrachee it lasts from Thursday to Monday, and is a time of unceasing noise and excitement. It is an universal holiday for Hindūs, Parsīs, Muhummadans, and even Christians take a part in the celebration, and it is a season of great hospitality, of charity, and of alms-giving. On one occasion I had the pleasure of accepting the invitation of a native gentleman to join in the Dewālī, and on arriving at his residence in the "City" was presented to the whole of his assembled family.

My host's father and mother were hale old people, aged respectively 90 and 80; he was a man of fifty, with a buxom wife, and a number of children, the eldest of whom was also married and had a family; and in addition to these three generations, there were endless cousins and other relatives.

The house was gaily lighted, and the fireworks outside kept up a constant *feu de joie*, making a frightful noise, and a worse smell; but inside all was courtesy, kindness, and hospitality.

They presented us with little bottles of *'atr*, from the Persian Gulf; sprinkled us with rose-water, covered us with flowers, and never allowed, the champagne glasses to remain unfilled for one minute. Every one was in full dress, and on this auspicious occasion several of the younger members of the family who had just arrived at manhood, assumed for the first time, the *siraiki-topi*, or Sindee head-gear, not unlike an inverted beaver, covered with pieces of wall-paper.

As already stated, there are in addition to those that I have mentioned, several other Hindū fasts and festivities, but they are neither so universal nor so strictly observed.

Of local fetes or *fairs*, as they are called, there are nine in the Kurrachee Talūka, but one of these is cocoa-nut day, and a second held in the Rāmbāgh Municipal Quarter is in honour of Māhādev, but is also, on account of the Dasira, a general festival, which is supposed to relate to the autumnal equinox. Of the others, two have been already mentioned, namely, Mangho Pīr and Manora Fair. At the former the attendance is chiefly Muhummedan, but Manora is a mixed fair resorted to by all classes of the native community. On the banks of the Lyaree, close to Kurrachee, there is a place called Miran Pīr, where a two days fair is held by the Muhammedans, in honour of a saint so-called.

Festivals are also held at Clifton, the sea-side suburb of Kurrachee, where the Hindūs congregate in large numbers to honour Siva, under the name of *Mahādeva*, "the great god," in the winter and the autumn; and another fair is held in his name at Nāngo-bagh, on the Lyaree, to which resort large numbers of pilgrims, going and returning from Hinglāj, in Belochistān, where has been erected a temple, said to be of great antiquity, in honour of Kāli, the Goddess of Fate. Near this temple is a large circular tank, which is said to have been sounded to a very great depth, without finding bottom, but as a purification for their sins, natives who are strong swimmers jump into it from an overhanging rock, and find an exit by means of a subterranean passage.

To worship the same black and terrible goddess, a very large number of Hindūs also attend once a year at Kalān Kot, on the Lyaree, where a festival is held in *Jeth Shūdh*, a period that corresponds to parts of May and June. One fair is held in the *Machi Meanee*, or Fishmarket quarter, on the 10th Nāri (November, December), and is strictly appropriate, to a settlement on the sea coast, like Kurrachee, as it is a celebration of Hindū boatmen, and others connected with the fishing trade, in honour of the sea.

The Parsīs make no great show about their own festivals, but they are a kindly, hospitable, and genial people, and thoroughly enjoy the holidays of Christians, Hindūs, and others. They are, however, very orthodox, and strictly comply with the duties and ceremonies that their religion imposes upon them, but when these are fulfilled, they utilize the remainder of the day in acts of charity and in entertaining their friends. They have no fasts, for fasting among them is considered sinful; and they are very fond of giving banquets and dinners, which are exceedingly *recherchés*, and also frequent, for they celebrate marriages and birthdays, in addition to the religious festivals.

Pateti, or "the day of repentance," is one of universal rejoicing among the Parsīs, and is in fact their New Year's Day, although actually it is the last day of the year passing away. It is the 1st of Favardin, the first of the twelve months of 30 days each, into which the year is divided, and to which five days called *Gathas* are added at the end, in order to make it correspond with the solar year. Favardin falls in August or September, for there are two sects styled respectively *Shahanshahi* and *Kadmi*, who differ as to the exact computation of time, and also on some points regarding the forms of prayer. The majority of Parsīs belong to the former sect, but the two *naoroz*, or "new days,"

are recognised as general holidays, the Kadmi new year falling one month earlier than the Shahanshahi.

The Parsī era is reckoned from the 16th June, A.D. 632, the date of the accession to the throne of Persia, of Yezdijird, the last of the Sassanian line of kings, who was defeated by the Arabs at the decisive battles of Cadesia, A.D. 636, and Nehavend, 641, when the Sassanian dynasty was extinguished, the rule of the Khalifs was substituted, and the ancient religion of Persia was extirpated.

Another festival is not only observed by the Parsīs in India and elsewhere, but is common to Persians, Arabs, and Turks, it being the day fixed for the computation of the incoming solar year, and also for the collection of revenue. It corresponds with the vernal equinox and falls about the third week in March. It is called the Jamshedi Naoroz, and strictly speaking is "New Year's Day," but in India it is simply a day of rejoicing, and is observed in honour of a Persian king named Jamshed, who first introduced the principles of cultivation, and the proper method of reckoning time on the Solar system.

Favardin Jasan, which is observed by the Kadmi sect in May, and by the Shahanshahi a month later, is a day set apart for the performance of ceremonies in connection with the dead, and prayers are offered for them at the "Tower of Silence."

There are numerous other festivals, but it is unnecessary to mention them all; it may, however, be remarked, as rather a curious proof of the retentive memory of the Parsīs, that they do not divide their time into weeks, but give to each day of the month the distinctive name of a celestial being. It is true that our terminology may be of assistance in the process of remembering thirty different names, for the majority of Parsīs speak English with extraordinary fluency.

Of all these holidays and of several others to which I have not called attention, the Christians, or let us say the Europeans of Kurrachee avail themselves, and protract them to a somewhat inordinate extent. The Dewāli comes at a season when the official world are preparing to make their annual exodus to the "district," and among the commercial residents very little business is done while it lasts. Eastertide grows from a two days' holiday into one of seven, and Christmas means the abeyance of all business transactions, except of those that cannot possibly be deferred, for at least a fortnight. Never is the British Indian Steam Packet—carrying the mails between Kurrachee and Bombay—more deeply laden than at this festive season; and seldom could

be found a greater medley than is to be met with on her crowded decks.

The saloon is filled with gentlemen, mostly unmarried—for men with wives and children prefer to pass Christmas-tide in the home circle, as is usually the custom in England—and among them will be noted several military officers on short leave from the Cantonments and up-country stations; a number of young men in Government or mercantile employ, the latter frequently carrying with them a bundle of billiard-cues to be re-pointed, for it would seem that that art has not yet been successfully acquired in Kurrachee; and a few Parsī gentlemen, all hastening down to enjoy the social and public amusements that the Presidency City can offer, on a much more extended scale than its young, but rising, western rival.

Midships will be found a mixed collection of the poorer class of Europeans, of Eurasians, Hindūs, Mohummedans, Arabs, Turks, and Persians; and I remember that one steamer carried a Chinese boatswain, together with a detachment of tall, swarthy, time-expired troopers and, linesmen, who, with a few invalids, victims to the climate, were travelling down to the port for transhipment to England. And among them all, every now and then, one comes upon a group of men solemnly pacing the deck, wherever space can be found, who neither join the merry party in the saloon, nor enter into conversation with their fellow passengers on board. But their tall figures, their noble bearing, their expressive eyes, and their aquiline noses, in conjunction with the richness, but simplicity, of their robes, all serve to denote that they belong to a class far removed from the common herd of Asiatics assembled around them; and a glance at the rosaries that hang from their necks, suffices to prove that they are deserving of that respect which is accorded to the sacerdotal classes in all civilized countries. They are, in fact, Armenian priests, travelling from their monasteries perched on the high peaks of Persian mountains, to the lower and more benignant plains of India. But it has always struck me that persons of this class, of good breeding and fair education, must suffer very great inconvenience during their voyages on British steamers, and that the experience of Mohammedāns and Hindoos must be equally unpleasant, for their habits and customs are very different from those of Europeans, and the confinement must be much more intolerable to them than to us.

It is not the fault of the Steamship Companies, who do everything in their power to satisfy the requirements of all their passengers; but the

space at their command must necessarily be insufficient to make allowance for sects, as well as for classes.

A story, told me by an eminent Indian judge, would seem to prove that Hindū gentlemen receive especial, and almost unique, attention at the hands of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. Three distinguished Judges of the High Court of Judicature determined to take a short leave to England during the Long Vacation, and to their party was joined a well-known native gentleman, holding a high position at the Indian Bar, with whom all three were intimately acquainted.

In the height of the passenger season one has to put up with any accommodation that can be obtained, and the judges were contented with a cabin containing three berths, in which they were packed like sardines, but to the barrister was assigned a cabin for his exclusive use, both homewards and outwards. On the return voyage one of the Judges, I believe a Chief Justice, was taken ill, and it was thought desirable to afford him more breathing room, and my honourable friend then said that he would ask the barrister whether he could allow him to occupy a vacant berth in his cabin.

The request was immediately granted, and for the remainder of the voyage the judge and the barrister chummed together.

Towards its end the former asked the latter why he took a whole cabin, remarking that it must be very expensive in the height of the passenger season, and the barrister replied, "I pay exactly the same money that you do, but the Old Lady in Leadenhall Street (for in this irreverent manner he referred to the P.O., as in former times a still greater Company, in the same street, used to be designated) imagines that no English gentleman will travel with a native, and when I asked for a berth she assigned me a cabin." Of this same barrister I heard another story. The voyage to which I have referred was his first visit to our shores, but in six weeks he saw as much of Great Britain as an ardent and intelligent traveller could possibly do. When approaching the coast of India, on his return, he was asked what place or incident had left the greatest impression on his mind. "Nothing," he replied, "in all my travels has struck me more than the fact that a great ship like this, flying the British Ensign, and carrying Her Majesty's mails, should have been stopped in the Red Sea to pick up a beggarly Lascar, who had fallen overboard."

"But," pursued his inquirers, "supposing it had been an Indian ship, bearing your national flag, would not you have stopped to pick up a drowning passenger?" "Well, yes," he replied, after a little considera-

tion, "we should certainly have done so if his passage-money had not been paid."

That little incident of his trip to Europe with a Hindū barrister was interpolated by my friend the Judge during a long and interesting conversation, to show me, as he said, how prejudices vanish from the minds of Englishmen who cultivate the acquaintance of the natives, and yet linger among people who know nothing about them. He was, and happily still is, one of those good servants of the Crown and of the country, whose constant aim is to draw closer the bonds of amity and confidence between the conquerors and the conquered; and from his position and constant intercourse with them, he naturally possesses great opportunities for acquiring a very deep insight into the character and habits of the natives. He told me of their wiliness, their stratagems, their lying propensities, and their roguery. He did not disguise that they had a great, and as he admitted, a natural dislike to their masters, and that in consequence of recent legislation (the Governor General at the time of which I write was the Marquis of Ripon) a new breach had been made in the relations between the dominant and dominated races, which would not be closed until after the lapse of many years.

But while he pointed out the many defects in the native character, he betrayed throughout a sincere regard—I might almost say, a fondness—for the people surrounding him. He mentioned the many good deeds of charity and mutual support among the very lowest classes that frequently had come under his notice; the liberality and almsgiving of the intermediate orders in the social scale; and he spoke in laudatory terms of numerous native gentlemen, following the legal profession, and assured me that many of them were his intimate friends, and constantly met at his table. His table! Ah! what pleasant recollections the dinner that he provided brings to my mind.

The saddle of mutton was tender and juicy, the oysters and the Pomfret had been brought by rail 850 miles, from Bombay, and yet were as fresh as "tho' new drawn frae the Forth," and the claret was perfection; but what especially attracted my attention was the luxurious abundance of flowers and vegetables here in midwinter—for it was December—in a great city of the North-west Provinces.

To have travelled for days and nights, with no other addition to the cutlets and fowl in different forms that one meets at railway stations and dāk bungalows, than a very waxy Bombay potato, had been monotonous; and the vista of masses of roses in full bloom adorning the table, and

filling every vacant spot in the house—of fresh, ripe fruit, piled enticingly in the middle of the damask cloth—and of lettuces, large and crisp—radishes the size of parsnips, yet neither strong nor pungent—water-cress with a gigantic leaf, but delicious flavour—and delicate little onions as sweet as violets, standing temptingly at the four corners, afforded a pleasant and delightful change.

The residents of Allahabād—for it was in that city that I met the judge—possess facilities for watering their gardens and compounds which are obtained in few other places. The Civil Station occupies a peninsula, surrounded on two sides by the river Ganges, and water is found at a very slight depth below the surface; consequently almost every bungalow is provided with a Persian-wheel, from which conduits lead to all parts of the grounds, and thus the grass and fruit and flowers receive an ample supply of water. The area of the Alford Park is nearly 140 acres, a large piece of ground to keep in order in a comparatively rainless country; but still the grass was all green, and the beds around the band-stand were in admirable order, and filled with flowers of all sorts and colours. But notwithstanding this profuse vegetation, the Europeans are always grumbling because the juicy fruits and succulent vegetables are only to be procured in the cool weather, while during the hot months not even a salad can be had for love or money.

I confess that I cannot explain how I have deserted from the British Indiaman and found my way to Allahabād, but I will at once return on board, now that I have made my excursion. One minute though! The mention of high courts and judges brings to one's mind's eye the sedate, be-robed, and be-wigged representatives of Her Majesty who occupy with such dignity the benches of the law offices in the Strand, but in India, although they wear robes, the justices have no wigs.

Frequently during the hot weather they have not even a coat underneath their robes, and if they are forced to cross a courtyard under the piercing sun they cover their heads with a white solar-topī. They do not, however, seem to be in the slightest degree less dignified or less respected than their brethren at home, nor does their brain-power appear to have suffered through the loss of the peruke. The abolition of the wig in India is said to have come about in this wise. To discuss some disputed point of law, the whole Bench of judges of the Calcutta High Court met in solemn conclave, under the presidency of the Chief Justice. The heat was suffocating, and the discussion grew warm, then

warmer, and at length heated; and when it reached its highest point the Chief Justice suddenly rose from his seat, seized the wig that covered his head, and threw it into the well of the court. His colleagues followed his example, and sent their perukes flying to join that of their chief, and from that day wigs have ceased to be worn in India, to the great loss of the manufacturers, but very much to the comfort of the bar. *That day* must, however, have been some time back, for a barrister who commenced to practise in Calcutta more than fifty years ago, has informed me that wigs were never worn in his time. I am told that perukes were temporarily abandoned in the courts at home during the hot summer of 1868, and that several judges and counsel appeared in court without them, but the covering was resumed so soon as the great heat had passed, which seems to have been a pity. I have an idea that wigs are *not* used in India in order to make a distinction between the representatives of the Law and the assembly of people in the courts, who in that country are generally covered; and that in England, where the audience invariably doffs the hat, that they are used for the same reason.

The direct steamer between Kurrachee and Bombay calls at the former port on its way down from the Persian Gulf, whence, in addition to the many human beings who occupy the upper decks, and cover them with numbers of little tents made of rugs and carpets, to secure privacy and to protect themselves from the cold, a large cargo of quadrupeds is often brought down between decks, especially during the winter months. These consist of Arab horses, from 80 to 100 in number, and small flocks of sheep. These creatures hardly appear to belong to the same species as a Lincoln or a merino. Their ears are long and drooping like those of a tame rabbit, the frontal bone is not flat but convex; the head is long and pointed, and the face has a mixed resemblance to those of a camel and a goat; the wool is coarse, more like hair; and the tail is simply a lady's white dress improver. The horses are

BRITISH.

ASIATIC.

said to have to undergo a long land journey before they reach the port of shipment, but those that I saw on board were in very good condition, and some of them were exceedingly fine animals. They fetch high prices at Bombay as saddle-horses, but are considered too light for the tramcars and heavy vehicles, for which "walers" from Australia are chiefly employed, at a cost of from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600.

While at Kurrachee my attention was called by Colonel W. H. J. Stopford, of the 5th Bombay Cavalry, to the difficulty of supplying horses to the Indian mounted troops. He pointed out that a trooper is supposed to find his own horse, with some assistance from the regimental fund, and that its cost should not exceed Rs. 300, a sum insufficient for the purchase of a *waler*; and moreover he did not seem at all favourably inclined to Australian horses.

I mentioned the River Plate as a market where probably suitable animals could be obtained. Between 20 and 30 years ago I remember shipping a cargo of horses from Buenos Ayres to Calcutta; they cost on board about £6 each, and they sold for Rs. 500, but I cannot say whether they were bought for cavalry purposes.

There is no doubt that the horse of the prairies is a healthy, staying animal, and as a weight carrier it surpasses the Arab, and that the breed is being greatly improved through the introduction of English blood, which will give it additional height, and probably tend to get rid of the ugliness about the head; and I should imagine that it could be landed at an Indian port, at a cost well within the limits of the regimental price, even allowing for loss on the voyage, which however, in my experience, is less than that sustained in the transport of horned cattle, and does not exceed two per cent. But if the same system of breaking-in that was in use in my time is still employed, I question whether one animal in ten would pass the examination of a military board. From the "corral," or pen containing perhaps two or three hundred animals, a promising three year old was allowed to escape, but as he dashed through the gates, rejoicing in his recovered liberty, with his head in the air, his nostrils inflated, and his long mane and tail fluttering on the breeze, the executioner, in the shape of a "gaucho," awaited him outside. There was a cast of the "lazo,"—a low underhanded cast, but a sure one—that deposited the loop just under the animal's fore legs, and as it was drawn tight, he gave one mighty plunge in the vain hope of escaping from the fatal noose, and came to the ground with a tremendous thud. That first step in his education was his ruin for life, for one

or other of his shoulders, was necessarily injured in a greater or less degree, and would be for ever defective. The lazo, the heritage of the conquerors, from the Indians of Peru, is the bane of the River Plate. In the great cattle-breeding countries of Australia its use has never been found necessary; in Texas it is employed but in a different form, it is much shorter, and is simply a means of obtaining additional power for drawing or pulling a heavy weight, and for this purpose it has been adopted by our own Artillery and Engineers; but the lazo of the South American gaucho, a coil of plaited hide, eighty feet in length, even when cast with the greatest dexterity, is a dangerous missile, with very incommensurate advantages.

The great grievance of the commercial community of Kurrachee, and one that they air on every opportunity, especially through the medium of the Chamber of Commerce, is that they are unable to exchange a daily post with Bombay, but are dependent on a bi-weekly steam service for the conveyance of all communications.

Until 1877 there was a daily post, by means of a land line, between the nearest points of the Railway systems of Gujerat and the Indus Valley, but it was abolished in that year by the Bombay Government, on account of the expense; and efforts are being constantly made to get it re-established. The Chamber points out that "it is no uncommon hardship, that a city of such strategical and commercial importance, having daily and hourly business transactions with the Presidency Town," should have no other means of communication than the British Indian mail-boat, and certainly it makes out rather a strong case. No doubt very great inconvenience is caused, if mail letters from Kurrachee arrive in Bombay too late to catch the homeward steamer, and have to lie in the post office for a week, and this may arise at any time through accidents to the steamer, and has occurred in more than one instance through bad weather that has been encountered in the Persian Gulf; and of course, similar delays may result in the delivery of the home mail, and Kurrachee may not receive its correspondence from England until long after the remotest corners of India have been supplied with theirs by means of the railways. But in this matter of the foreign mails, a great part of the difficulties would at once vanish, if another proposal of the Chamber of Commerce could be adopted, namely, that a weekly steam service be established between Kurrachee and Aden. This would at once render the former port independent of Bombay, in respect to the outward and homeward mails, and it would reduce the time occupied

in the transmission of correspondence between London and Lahore by 21 hours, and even between the India Office and Simla by 18 hours.

In reply to the representation of the Chamber of Commerce on this subject, they were informed "that until the cost of the ocean service for the maintenance of communication between Bombay and Brindisi is covered by the postage collected on the correspondence conveyed, it would not be proper to take into consideration the organisation of an alternative line for the special benefit of any particular portion of the country." This dictum would seem to convey a sort of understanding that under certain circumstances the matter would be taken into consideration, and as the chairman of the Chamber pointed out, the proper time has now arrived, for it may be inferred that the Overland Service is carried on at a profit to Government, since the reduction of the subsidy to the Peninsular and Oriental Company by £95,000. The reference to the impropriety of considering an alternative line for the special benefit of *any particular portion of the country* is delightfully sarcastic; it evidently is intended as a rebuff to the impertinence of a *little* place like Kurrachee, applying for a line of steamers for its own use, but the framer of the dispatch was evidently in ignorance of the fact, that the quickest route to the Punjāb and North Western Provinces, and to Quettah and Herāt, passes through that little City. The thin end of the wedge has already been inserted, for the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes has been running the ss. Labourdonnais for some time between Aden and Kurrachee, connecting at the former Port with the regular line to and from Marseilles, and the slightest difficulty on the Frontier would compel the Government to establish that alternative line which at present cannot be taken into consideration with bureaucratic propriety.

But I must confess that I entertain very grave doubts whether the mercantile community of Kurrachee, as represented by its Chamber of Commerce, has any real desire to create a direct communication with Europe, independent of that which now exists through Bombay, and whether, was the option given to it, it would not prefer the daily post by road to new and greater facilities by sea.

Kurrachee never appears to be able to leave hold of the apron-strings of the goddess Mamba Devī for one moment. It clings to Bombay as the ivy clings to the oak. It has a mercantile aristocracy, but it has no merchant princes, no independent leaders in the world of commerce.

The Water Works—Stand for bullock service.

Native Cart.

With very few exceptions all the houses of business in Kurrachee are off-shoots or branches from established firms in the Presidency city, and are naturally closely allied with, and to a great extent subsidiary to them. Scotchmen are to the fore in Kurrachee, as in most other parts of the world. Among the leading houses are to be found Donald Graham and Co., Sir Charles Forbes and Co., Wallace and Co., and several Macs—McLellan and Co., Mackinnon, Mackenzie and Co., and A. McHinch and Company, though I think the last named firm hails from the Green Island.

Messrs. Ralli Brothers have an agency here, as they seem to have in every centre of commerce on the face of the globe, and there are one or two German firms, and also a Swiss house with ramifications in Ceylon, Cochin, and Tillicherry, the last a port on the Malabar coast, where H.M.S. Superb, of 74 guns, was wrecked in 1783, that of Messrs. Volkart Brothers, of Winterthur.

From the partial list of traders in Kurrachee that I have given, for I do not pretend to submit a directory, it may be seen at once that they have no vested and fixed interests in that city. The Mackinnon of Glasgow is there because, by a convention between the P. and O. and the British India Steam Navigation Companies, the former are not to send their ships to the port, and the Grahams, "the Forbys," and several other houses have established their agencies, or branches, because it would be imprudent to allow a new place, with new trade, and undoubted facilities for furthering the same, to expand and increase in the immediate neighbourhood of their headquarters, unless they had a finger in the pie. But "the Mackinnon" selects his very worst boats for the London and Kurrachee trade, and questions the advisability of encouraging the passenger traffic; and there probably is not one European firm in the whole place that could not quit the town at very short notice, without leaving behind it a stick or a stone or a square yard of freehold property. To all of them it is exile, a period of painful separation from their beloved Bombay, and perhaps it is all the more creditable that while they regard their residence in Kurrachee as only temporary, they show great interest in its advancement and development.

The banks at Kurrachee, like the business houses, are only branches, but I believe that the first institution of the sort founded in that city was a purely independent and local one. The construction of the Scinde Railway brought a large influx of engineers, surveyors, and

others, and naturally led to the employment of a great number of peons and coolies. As the line extended the officers and servants of the company were spread over a large area, but still they had to be paid at stated periods, and as at that time rupee notes had not been introduced, all payments had to be made in silver. If it be remembered that a lakh of rupees weighs upwards of thirty hundredweight, that that sum would only suffice to pay the monthly salaries of a small number of the superior officials, and that much larger amounts had to be carried up country for the wages of the labourers, it will be at once recognised that the weight of the specie was cumbersome, and in addition to this there was a constant danger of robbery, for in the early stages of the works great difficulty was found in controlling and maintaining order among the wild and undisciplined bordermen who flocked to the Indus in search of employment, and ultimately the Company had to establish its own police. In order to overcome the inconvenience of carrying hither and thither large sums of money the railway founded its own bank, which was, I think, the first one established in Sind, and which was afterwards purchased by the Imperial Bank of India, now defunct. The Agra and Masterman Bank founded a branch in 1858, and a second one in 1867, when that institution was reconstituted under the title it now bears. The old Bombay Bank was built in 1866 at a cost of Rs. 150,000, but when its affairs were wound up, the building was purchased by Government for £85,000, the exact amount sanctioned for the erection of a new Court-house in Kurrachee, to which purpose it seemed so well adapted that no outlay was incurred for alterations. It is still used as the Sudder Court, and a new bank-house was erected at a short distance from the former site. The National Bank of India, as already stated, has also a branch, but this was not established until 1884. The managers and staff of these institutions naturally cannot be regarded as permanent residents; they look upon Kurrachee as a sort of penal settlement, and are always longing for the day when they may be promoted elsewhere or recalled to the chief office.

The interests of the native merchants lie chiefly in a different direction. Their trade in a very great measure is carried on with other districts of Sind, and with the Punjāb and North-Western Provinces. Many of them have branches or correspondents at Hydrabād, Sehwan, Mooltan, Lahore, and even Amritzar, but their regular business seldom extends south of that city, for they then come into contact with the local firms, and with those of Calcutta and Bombay. With this latter

city they naturally have frequent communications, but they do not regard it with the affection that a child has for the authors of its being. In fact, every now and then a little storm arises, and there is a great clamour, especially in the public Press, about the injustice of keeping Kurrachee bound to a jealous and unjust stepmother; hard things are said about the Presidency City, and demands are made for separation from the Government of Bombay and for union with that of the Lieutenant Governorship of the Punjab.

The Europeans make a show of joining in the popular feeling while it continues, but in a half-hearted way, and without any real desire for the consummation of the project. On the question of railway lateral communication with eastern India they come to the front very strongly, present memorials, hold public meetings, and expatiate on the enormous advantages that would accrue not only to Kurrachee, but to the home markets, if the western port should be connected by railway with Delhi; but their ardour cools when the very slightest obstacle to that route is pointed out, and they fall back perfectly contented on the proposal to connect Hydrabād with Pachpadra, whence by means of the Joudhpore and the Bombay, Baroda, and C.I. Railways they would obtain access by land to the Elysium of Bombay, and might in course of time establish that daily post which they consider of such vital importance.

It is too much to expect that a body of gentlemen, so closely united by commercial and social ties to the Presidency town as that of the English mercantile community in Kurrachee, should connive at, and assist in, a project which must inevitably tend to bring to the latter port a considerable increase of trade, at the expense of the former. If the prospects of Kurrachee could be advanced without any detriment to Bombay, then they would gladly and earnestly assist in the project, but so long as the latter is opposed to the idea, it would almost be an act of disloyalty on the part of the colony that migrated to Kurrachee, to foster the plan of direct communication with Delhi. There may be exceptions, and it is possible that the President of the Municipality and of the Chamber of Commerce, Colonel Alexander McHinch, who has displayed great interest and activity in the movement, is one of them, for I am inclined to think that his firm is absolutely independent of Kurrachee's step-mother.

But this question of lateral railway communication is of such paramount importance to the port of Sind, that it deserves another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INDIAN GREAT WESTERN OR GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY.

IT is difficult to imagine a moment of greater pleasure than that minute portion of time which would be occupied in unfastening an envelope bearing the stamp of "Downing Street," and learning from the enclosure, signed by the First Minister of the Crown, that Her Majesty has been pleased to confer a Barony upon the addressee. But after reading the courteous, though brief announcement, I think that the recipient of such a communication would sit back in his arm-chair and ruminate. He may be a gallant soldier or sailor; a distinguished politician or diplomatist; a powerful landed proprietor; a man of letters, poet, or historian; or one who, in his career of banker, brewer, or contractor, has accumulated great wealth, and has dispensed a portion of it in charities, and public benefactions, and perhaps another portion in the support and maintenance of a political party. But in any case it comes to him as the reward of some service that he has rendered, and as a crowning proof that he has merited a distinction which will remove him from the ordinary ruck of humanity. It brings also certain obligations, one of them being that it entails upon him the selection of a title, if not of a change of name; and I think that a decision on these points would form the subject of the deep and serious meditation to which he would immediately incline on the receipt of such good-tidings. If the patronymic be Smith or Jones, both of them good old names, and both of them to be found in the *peerage*, it might be a question whether he should be called to the Upper House by the style and title of Baron Smith or Baron Jones, in which event he would drop the prefix of John or William, and simply sign his family name. Nothing could be more *distingué*, more conspicuous, for he would certainly become the chief of an enormous clan, and his followers would be innumerable; or he might desire to connect himself with the venerable ruin the possession of which, in its palmier days, was vested, according to family tradition, in a remote ancestor, and become, say Lord Tenniscourt, but he can hardly arrive at a definite conclusion, for in all

probability there will be other people to consult. Possibly there is an heir male; it may be that there are daughters; and let us hope that a Mrs. Smith still survives to enjoy her husband's honours. And is she not to participate in them? She who has shared her spouse's troubles and anxieties; who has watched his career, and has helped to make it a successful one. Surely she ought to be consulted, and in all probability her decision will be final. In any case she will become "her ladyship," but if the title assumed be simply the family name, *Sarah Smith* will still be her signature. On the other hand, if the title be taken from the old family property, she will sign herself in future, *Sarah Tenniscourt.* Sarah Jennings was in no way remarkable, but Sarah *Marlborough* was a power!

Just as the adoption of a title in the peerage is dependent in a great measure on the views of the female element in its wearer's family, so the application of a name to a great Railway Company has to be determined by circumstances and influences which are only indirectly connected with the undertaking. Its god-fathers may bestow a high-sounding appellation upon their bantling, but it does not follow that the designation will be secured to it by the registrar of Joint Stock Companies; accepted by the London Stock Exchange; or appreciated by the general public. Regard must be paid to the regulations of one body, and to the tastes of others.

I have been led into the above dissertation on names and titles, because I am anxious to find a short, yet full designation for the important line of railway to which the conclusion of the last chapter referred, namely, a direct means of communication between Kurrachee and the great native capital of India. Already this proposed line has formed the subject of several memorials; of protracted correspondence, and of prolix dispatches; but in no one of the documents that have been issued in regard to it, has any definite title been bestowed upon the undertaking to which I desire to call the reader's attention. The Memorialists speak of *Railway Extension in Sind*; the correspondence mentions the *Sind, Rajpootana, and Punjab Railway,* and in one instance I find a reference to the *Great Western of India Railway.*

To all such designations I respectfully take exception—*Railway Extension in Sind* simply means that the Memorialists shirk the question of direct communication with Delhi; that they will be satisfied with the Jodhpore connection; that they have not the courage to pluck at the golden gown, but will be contented with the sleeve.

"Sind, Rajpootana and Punjab Railway" is not quite so long a title as "Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway," but still it is an unwieldly one, and "Great Western of India Railway" is misleading, and by no means euphonious. It seems to me that there is but one name that can be given to a railway of such length, and of such paramount importance, namely, that which I have adopted as one of the headings of this chapter, "The Indian Great Eastern," but to meet the opposition of all presumptive cavillers, I will give my reasons for its use.

The nomenclature of railways in this country is generally adapted in such wise that the title shall specify the districts through which any particular line may run, and it also frequently indicates the points of departure and of arrival. The *Great Northern*, the *Great Western*, and the *Midland Railway* Companies may be placed in the first category of lines which demonstrate by their respective titles the different portions of England over which they have spread their net-work; and although not absolutely mentioned, it is implied and understood that their point of departure is London. The *London and North Western*, the *London, Brighton and South Coast*, the *London, Chatham and Dover* Railway Companies clearly indicate that they were designed to connect London with the districts or towns the names of which complete their titles; and it may further be stated that lines starting from other great cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Dublin are simply prolongations of railways issuing from the Metropolis.

In Great Britain there is one great centre, but in India this is not the case. Delhi is the city which corresponds more directly with London, and almost all railways converge towards it; but the lines that now cover the Empire in all directions are not branches thrown off from the old capital, but were commenced on the sea-coast in order to connect the great ports of Calcutta, Bombay, and Kurrachee with the great centre of native trade in the interior. The principle, therefore, on which railways have been named in India is different from that which obtains in this country, and in some cases it is difficult to recognise the existence of any principle or system at all.

In the case of the earlier companies which were formed for the construction of railways in India, it is probable that they assumed high-sounding names without any special regard to the direction that they proposed to adopt as their field of operation.

The *Great Indian Peninsula* is a magnificent title, but the main line

from Bombay to Jubbulpore does not traverse the Peninsula, but actually runs away from it. *East Indian Railway* is the style of one of the earliest and most important undertakings, but it hardly seems to indicate that it is a line on the eastern side of the Empire: the "Indian Eastern," or the "Eastern Railway of India," would certainly have been more appropriate than a "Railway of the East Indies," which is the simple reading of the title. And moreover, the East Indian Railway was especially designed to form a direct route from Calcutta to Delhi, but from the former city it runs not in an easterly, but in a north-westerly direction, and another line which joins it at Bunkipore, and runs for a considerable distance parallel to it, is correctly designated the *Bengal and North-Western Railway.*

A certain latitude must, however, be allowed for the great companies which were first in the field, and to whose selection of titles no opposition was possible, and in the railways of recent date more specific titles have been adopted. One exception should, however, be made in the re-christening of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Railway.

The company was incorporated to construct a line commencing at the seaport of *Kurrachee*, and to proceed to a point at or near *Hydrabad*, and it was, later on, empowered to make and maintain a line from *Mooltan* to *Lahore* and *Umritsir*, called the *Punjaub Railway*, in a *north-easterly direction.* There was no mention in those days of the North-Western Provinces, nor does the name of Calcutta appear in the Act. The line was to start from Kurrachee, and to proceed north-east from that port, but by some circumvention it is now designated the "North-Western Railway."

It will be well to avoid the recurrence of a similar error in fixing on a title for the new undertaking to which I refer, for although it is at present in the very first stage of development, namely, passing through the process of reconnaissance, yet in course of time a traveller will take a through ticket from London viâ the "Euphrates Valley" and the "Indian Great Eastern" Railways to Delhi, Nepal, and Thibet. The title is comprehensive, no opposition need be feared at Somerset House, and it will suit the public because it is simple and clear.

Who first initiated the idea of a railway crossing from the western extreme of India proper to the eastern side, in the northern districts of the Empire, it is difficult to determine, but the Scinde Railway was not without its opponents, and there were several controversialists who disputed its utility, and recommended a more direct route, without, however,

defining strictly the line to be taken, and probably without any exact knowledge of the difficulties that might have to be encountered. But one controversy which arose at the time has a very strong bearing on the present question, and that was in regard to the direction to be taken by the Indus Valley Railway. The engineer to the company, Mr. John Brunton, was an ardent supporter of the route on the left bank of the river, on the ground that it would accommodate the local requirements of the valley equally well as the right bank; that it would be less liable to floods and to attacks by the frontier tribes, and would be both cheaper and shorter for the through traffic. Moreover, he pointed out that the eastern side was much more highly cultivated than the western, but he allowed that the peculiar tastes of His Highness Mīr Alī Morād, which led him to devote a large area of the Khypūr Territory to *shikargahs*, or hunting-preserves, must be treated with consideration. His plan was to cross the Indus at Kotree by a bridge of 17 spans of 160 feet each, and of one swing span of 80 feet, for the passage of steamers and the larger native boats or *zurucks*, and he estimated roughly that the cost would amount to £208,000, as against £600,000 for the Sukkur bridge, which he considered an exceptional work that would require a span of 600 feet, and would demand that heavy outlay.

The Deputy Consulting Engineer for Railways, Lieutenant (now Major-General) Joseph Bonus, Bombay Engineers, was strongly opposed to the proposals of the Company's engineer, and maintained that the railway should be constructed on the right bank, but his reasoning, like that of Mr. Brunton, appears to us at the present time to be completely obsolete.

General Bonus considered that a line on the right bank, from Kotree to Sukkur, would be as safe from molestation by the native tribes as a line in Kent, but he much doubted the propriety of passing through the foreign territory of Bahawalpur, as advised by Mr. Brunton. Moreover, he questioned the efficiency of the bridge at Kotree, as designed by his civil colleague, and regarded it as inadmissible because it would not allow of the passage of a native boat with a mast 50 to 60 feet in height, and would interfere most seriously and detrimentally with the navigation of the Indus, and he states his opinion that the largest span of the Sukkur bridge might be diminished from 600 to about 560 feet by commencing the piers at low water level, and that the total outlay would not exceed the sum that would be required for the Kotree crossing. On one point only do the disputants appear to agree,

namely, that at some future day it might be necessary to connect Jacobabād with the Sind railway system.

Our ideas have expanded very widely since the reports, to which I have referred, were written in 1864. In the matter of the Sukkur Bridge alone the difference is very remarkable. Mr. Brunton would not recommend a stiffened suspension, but General Bonus thought that a span similar to that which covered the falls of Niagara, measuring 820 feet, and weighing 1,000 tons, might be constructed for a £100,000. The *actual* bridge, opened on the 27th March, 1889, has the largest rigid span in the world, there being 790 feet clear width between the abutments; the weight of the two cantalivers, excluding the central span, is nearly 3,000 tons, and the cost was Rs. 2,949,410, or say £200,000.

Khyrpūr, for the designation of the town and state of Bhawalpūr appears to have become merged into that of the larger city, is still chiefly a hunting ground of the Amīr; but His Highness has received many blessings in the shape of schools, compulsory vaccination, and doctors, four of whom are in constant personal attendance. A survey of his territory has already been made, and before long a railway in connection with the Patiāla-Bhātinda Line will join the last-named place with Bhawalpūr.

In these days the propriety of interfering with a tributary State, and with the ease and conveinence of its Chief, has very little weight when scaled against Imperial necessities.

Jacobabād, which both the Government Railway official and the engineer of the Sind Company considered of such importance that at some future day it may be requisite to bring it within means of railway communication, is no longer on the frontier, for a branch of the North-Western system, formerly called the Sindh Pishin (State) Railway, now reaches Kila-Abdulla, 270 miles beyond it, and the traffic on the waterway of the Indus is so greatly reduced that the height of a zuruck's masts need not enter into calculation.

Where this now ancient question of the Indus Valley Railway, has so direct a bearing on the modern project of connecting Kurrachee with the east and south of India, lies in the fact that had Mr. Brunton's design been accepted, large portions of the Hydrabād Collectorate, which is extremely fertile, and parts of the Thar and Pārkar Superintendency, which is called a desert, and to a certain extent merits its name, simply because no help has ever been afforded to it, would now be thriving and cultivated districts; and that the towns of Alahyar-jo-Tando, Mirpūr

and Umerkot, which are on the direct route to Pachpadra, would have recovered from the state of decay into which they have fallen since the occupation of Sind by the British.

And it should be remembered that this incident—this feeder of the Sind Railway—must have been a natural consequence of the adoption of the route on the left bank of the Indus, and that it would have been made at the expense, not of the Government of India, but at that of an English Company, and that yet the Government would have been forced for strategical purposes, to construct its military lines, viâ Ruk to Chaman, and probably to Kandahār, so that had the reasoning of General Bonus been less forcible, or his influence less powerful, we should now, in all probability, be a long way on the road to the establishment of that direct connection which we are so desirous of seeing created between Kurrachee and the districts to the eastwards, while at the same time the protection of the frontier by Government would not be one bit less than it is at present. One other remark is, I think, permissible. A quarter of a century has elapsed between the inception of an Indus Bridge and its completion. Such a delay could not have occurred had its position been fixed at Kotree, 105 miles from Kurrachee, the basis of operations, instead of at Sukkur, a distance of 332 miles. No extraordinary expense, and no great engineering difficulties, had to be met with in its construction, but without it the Sind Railway and its extensions on the Indus would have been useless. A Bridge at that time would have been a donation to India, unanimously voted by the Company, in the prime of its life, instead of a legacy bequeathed "in extremis."

I have stated that I am unable to point to anyone in particular as being the prime mover in the project of a railway across the northern half of India, but such a line has been more or less directly referred to by several eminent authorities during the last decade, and one anonymous writer, in a pamphlet entitled "The Euphrates to Delhi," printed in 1873, mentions Jeysulmere and Bickaneer as stations on the proposed route. Sir Bartle Frere and Sir William P. Andrew, "the apostle of railways," both included a connection between Kurrachee and the eastern side of India by a more direct route than the present north-western system in their projects, the former probably on account of the interest that he always displayed towards the Port, and the latter in advocating the great scheme of his life, the Euphrates Valley Railway. But the subject took no decisive form until the beginning of 1886,

although in the meanwhile some negotiations were carried on with a view to improving the trade and commerce of Kurrachee.

The Collector of Hydrabād, Colonel E. W. Trevor, Bo.S.C., in reply to a communication from the Chamber of Commerce asking for his influence and support in favour of their proposals for the construction of a broad gauge railway from Bhawulpūr to Batinda, viâ Fazilka, suggested that the Chamber should take up the question of a railway from Rohri, viâ Khairpūr, Nausharo, and Hālā, to cross the Indus at or near Jerruck, but the Chamber replied that they could not advocate the construction, until other lines of much greater commercial and political importance—*e.g.*, the Bhawalpūr extension—should have been undertaken. Here we have the Collector of Hydrabād recommending the construction of the very line of railway on the left bank of the Indus that had been so strongly recommended by the engineer of the Scinde Railway, Mr. John Brunton, twenty years previously, and that had been refused by the Government of India on the advice of their engineer Major-General Bonus; and moreover, we may see that at this date (1885) the Chamber of Commerce, representing the trading community of Kurrachee, had never even grasped the idea of any other means of communication with the eastern districts of the Empire, except by following a northerly and circuitous route.

The survey of a metre-gauge line from Hydrabād through Alahyar-jo-Tando to Mirpūr Khas, a distance of forty-one miles, had also been made by Mr. G. N. R. Lambert, M.I.C.E., Superintending Engineer for Irrigation in Sind, who from his position, and his intimate acquaintance with the district, had special opportunities for forming a sound opinion, as to the feasibility of constructing a railway between those towns, and as to its commercial prospects. On both these points he was fully satisfied, and he estimated the cost of complete equipment of the line at Rs. 28,345 (£2,500) per mile; and Colonel Trevor held the same views, and was most anxious to see the connection made during his tenure of the Collectorate. Both of these gentlemen afforded me great assistance during a visit that I made to the district, and furnished me with very valuable statistics, regarding the goods and passenger traffic that might be expected. In course of time the line would have been prolonged to Umarkōt, a large town, distant 95 miles from Hydrabād, and the whole produce of the district would have been brought down to the latter city, and thence by the Sind Railway to Kurrachee, whereas a great portion of it is now carried by

the canals to their junction with the Indus, at Ghotāna, about four miles south of Hālā, and thirty miles higher up the river than Hydrabād.

The places that I have named were of considerable importance before the British occupation, and a great deal of the trade of Shikārpur and Northern Sind found its way to the district, and especially to Alahyar, which was on the high-way between the two large towns of Hydrabād and Umarkōt; they are again picking up, owing to the extensive cultivation of cotton; and strings of carts and camels, and troops of small horses, and tiny donkeys, are constantly met with on the roads, which are bridged where necessary, and although unmetalled, are by no means bad. The population is extremely industrious, and the coloured cloths and silk that they weave, and the ivory that they turn, are much admired. Mirpūr is a much smaller place and has no manufactures of its own, but the transit trade is considerable, and the cotton produced in the neighbourhood is said to be the finest in Sind.

Umarkōt is the centre of an agricultural and cattle breeding district, but there is also a large trade carried on chiefly by Hindūs, in grain, ghī, tobacco, and camels, and the transit trade is very considerable, especially with Jhodpūr. In travelling eastwards from Hydrabād, I remember that I was much struck by the large number of horses that we met *en route* carrying down panniers of fish from the canals; it seemed like taking coals to Newcastle, to transport fish to the Indus; but I was informed that during a portion of the winter months, the finny inhabitants of that great river are believed to be poisonous.

There can be no doubt that the district of Sind to which I have referred has not only been left without any fostering hand by the Government of Bombay, but that it has been shamefully neglected; and that when the question of railway communication through it was raised, no support whatever was given to the project. Kurrachee did not then look upon such a railway as being the first step towards that eastern connection for which it now raves; for in 1885 such an idea had never penetrated the brains of the Members of the Chamber of Commerce; but it is somewhat remarkable that that Chamber should not have comprehended the vast importance that would result from the opening up of a large district close to their doors, the produce of which must inevitably be brought down to the Port, and that they should not have given the scheme their hearty support, instead of

keeping their gaze intently fixed on the Bhawalpūr extension, the value of which to Kurrachee is extremely questionable.

But they even went further than this: they actually welcomed with interest a proposal that was made to construct a railway, of which the survey had just been completed from Bhawalpūr on the North Western Railway to Ajmere on the Rajputāna-Malwa section of the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway; a line 310 miles in length that if constructed, would bisect Rajputāna from north to south, and would divert every ton of produce of the Punjāb and North West Provinces from the Sind Port to Bombay. Kurrachee would have been left solely dependent upon the traffic to be derived from the area situated along some 550 miles of the North Western Railway, and for a considerable distance, on one side only; and on that of the Sindh Pishin Line, the value of which, from the trade point of view, has yet to be estimated.

To sanction such a proposal would be a suicidal policy on the part of Kurrachee, and its development should be opposed, "tooth and nail," at least until the line crossing Rajputāna, in the opposite direction be completed; after that, let the Government construct the Bhawalpūr and Ajmere Railway, for strategic purposes, at a cost of nearly two *karors* of rupees (for that is the estimate), if it should so please; and the new line might serve as a sop to Bombay, for any loss of trade that may ensue on the completion of the Hydrabād and Delhi route. At the very time that the Chamber of Commerce were congratulating themselves on the completion of a survey which "affected future Railway extensions towards Kurrachee," viz., that of the Bhawalpūr and Ajmere line, they were bewailing the results of the actual construction of the Rewari-Ferozepore Railway, to which, as they unanimously agreed, was solely due the great falling off in the export of rapeseed through Kurrachee, in the year 1886-1887, as in consequence of the greater facilities for booking produce by that railway, the largest portion of the crop had been carried down to Bombay. This Rewari-Ferozepore line runs parallel to the proposed railway from Bhawalpūr to Ajmere, but is removed further east by at least four degrees of longitude, and surely if the former diminished the trade of the port to a very large extent, the latter would be still more detrimental, for by it the distance from the Punjab to the sea-coast would be considerably reduced. The Kurrachee Chamber of Commerce never discovered, or at least never confessed, its mistake in greeting the advent of the Bhawalpūr and

Ajmere line, but the Municipality did, and in one of the many memorials that commenced to hail on the Governor General in 1887, the Corporation pointed out that "the contemplated line would still more tend to divert the trade from the port of Karachi, which naturally should flow towards it."

The stones of the hail-storm of memorials have been cleverly collected, and dissolved into a neat little pamphlet, to which a preface has been written by the honourable and gallant member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander McHinch. The pamphlet refers only "to the junction by railway of Hydrabād (which is already connected with Kurrachee by rail) with the Jodhpore State Railway and so with the Rajputana-Malwa system:" but Colonel McHinch very speedily recognized the superior merits of the more direct Delhi-Kotri route, and has never ceased to urge its claims to Government support in the most thorough and uncompromising spirit, and if that grand project be finally brought to a successful issue, the result will be chiefly due to his energetic advocacy, in conjunction with Mr. H. J. Rustomjee, an enterprising and leading merchant of the Port, and some other gentlemen whom I will shortly mention, but who had no personal interest in Kurrachee.

In one memorial of the "Inhabitants of Sind," signed by 5000 residents of Kurrachee and Hydrabād which, (by-the-bye, is not a very large number out of a total population of 135,000, that these places contain) the following reasons are deduced for the construction of a line of Railway from Hydrabād to Pachpadra in the Jodhpore State: 1st, that the addition of this line, which at the outside is only two hundred and forty miles long, completes a railway closely approximating to a straight line drawn from Kurrachee—the port of India nearest to Aden, and to the seaports of Europe—to Agra, the central point of a circle which, with a radius of a little over one hundred miles, would include the cities of Delhi, Gwalior, and Shahjehanpore, a town itself, the centre of one of the richest and most fertile districts in India, and brings these places nearer to the sea by about 100 miles of land travelling, and to a point of the Indian seaboard, from which the voyage to Europe is 24 hours shorter than by any other route. To this first reason is appended a wail as to the disability the Province of Sind, and especially the port of Kurrachee, labours under in forming part of a Presidency with which they have no lateral communication whatever, *not even for the purpose of a postal service.*

No. 2 is merely a development of the statements contained in the former clause, and reiterates more strongly the effect that the line would have in connecting the Port with the great railway systems; but No. 3 appeals more directly to the interests of the public, and points out that it would become an alternative line of military communication between the North West Frontier and positions such as Baroda and Ahmedabad, from a base at Bombay, of great value in the event of the tide of war ever approaching the Indus; that it would strengthen the base of operations from Kurrachee and Hydrabād, by facilitating the dispatch of reinforcements and munitions of war from the head-quarters of the Bombay Army to the front; and that it would serve to connect more closely the military undertakings on the western side of India with the general scheme of Indian defence. "It is understood," the memorial goes on to say, "that the State of Jodhpore is willing and anxious to construct the portion—100 miles—which lies within the boundaries of that State"; and incidentally attention is called to the fact that the gross revenue from the local traffic between Hydrabād and Umarkōt, calculated at the North Western Railway rates, was worth annually rupees 398,953, and it concludes with the assertion that the proposed line is short, easy, inexpensive to construct, and can be completed rapidly.

The merchants and landholders of the district of Thar and Pārkar, of which Umarkōt is the chief town, corroborate these statements in a memorial which they also presented, and add that the 240 miles between Hydrabād and the Pachpadra Station on the Rajputana line lie mostly through an open plain, excepting a very small tract in which are sandhills scattered here and there; and the authorities of Hydrabād, to show their faith in the undertaking, actually voted the sum of 1¼ lakhs of rupees towards the cost of the line through the district under their control over which the railway would pass: a distance that the Collector calculated would be from 40 to 50 miles.

The humble memorials of the Port Trust Board, of the Kurrachee Chamber of Commerce and of the Municipal Commissioners (whose petition is however not *humble*, but *respectful*) are drafted in very similar terms to those already mentioned; but the Port Trust make rather a strong point in calling attention to the fact "that while about one-fifth of the total area of British India belongs geographically to their Port, it is only connected with somewhat over one-eighth of the total length of railways completed and under construction, and this chiefly in

the form of a long trunk line, without branches, and located with a view more to strategical than to commercial purposes"; and they further say that "Karachi being the nearest Indian Port to Europe (having in this respect an advantage of 200 nautical miles over Bombay), it should obviously be the gate of traffic for the tract of country to which it geographically belongs; and in order to reduce so far as possible the cost of railway carriage, which roughly speaking is *ten times that of sea carriage, mile for mile,* it is of the greatest importance that the country should be opened up by lines of Railways converging on the Port in sufficient number for the requirements of traffic;" and conclude with an argument based on the past and the future, that in the event of another expedition to Afghanistan being necessary, the proposed line would enable Government to draw supplies from the districts traversed by the Rajputana-Malwa system. "It is well known," they state, "that owing to supplies of food and grain and fodder having to be drawn exclusively from Sind and the Punjāb during the recent campaign, not only were those Provinces almost denuded of supplies and their export trade greatly interfered with, but a serious loss was incurred by Government through the high prices which holders of grain and fodder were able to command. The line now proposed would prevent this loss to Government, and such a complete disorganisation of trade, were such a contingency to arise again."

The Chamber of Commerce avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the presentation of their address to air their grievances, and to reiterate that the Hydrabād-Joudhpore line "would supply a long felt and admittedly grave want, in providing a daily post with Bombay and the other parts of the Presidency."

The Municipal Commissioners in their memorial make a suggestion that as the Rajputāna line is constructed on the metre gauge system, the proposed line may also be on that same gauge. The recommendation savours both of unnecessary interference, and of want of forethought. The memorialists respectfully appeal for railway communication, but they might surely have left the decision regarding the gauge to the authorities who possess the power to grant or refuse their request, or they might have deferred raising the question, until the opportune moment should have arrived for discussing the details of the scheme. Moreover their suggestion appears to be impolitic, and to have been made hastily, and without any thought to the future. In this very memorial the Commissioners refer to the continued stagnation in the

trade of Kurrachee, due, as they believe, to the diversion to another route of the traffic which formerly found its way thither. Of course they refer to the Rewari-Ferozepore Railway, which as already stated served to carry the greater part of the rape-seed crop to Bombay, and one would naturally suppose that the efforts of the Commissioners would be addressed to the finding of some method for stifling the deviation of this produce. It cannot be denied that the Bombay-Baroda and Rajputana-Malwa Railways, form one Main-line, with the unfortunate defect that they are disconnected at Ahmedabad in consequence of the difference of gauge; and, although the step is not yet sanctioned it is understood and accepted that the gauge of the latter railway must before long be widened, so as to render it equal to that of the former. But it by no means follows that the gauge of the Rewari-Ferozepore section would also be increased, for that is not a Main-line, but only a connecting link, and as a metre-gauge railway it has a distinct route and a future of its own. It is not probable that the State, already possessing a 5ft. 6in. railway of its own, from the sea to a central point such as Raewind on the North Western Railway, 815 miles from Kurrachee, will go to the expense of constructing another line on an equal gauge, but 290 miles longer, from Bombay to that same point; and it is much more likely that the Government will maintain the Rewari-Ferozepore and the Holkar or Indore Sections, in their present condition, and perhaps some day the latter may be prolonged across Hydrabād (Deccan), with the assent and assistance of H.H. The Nizām to a junction with the Southern Mahratta system, thus forming a well defined combination on the metre gauge, between the northern and southernmost districts of India. It follows, therefore, that it is greatly to the interest of Kurrachee that the gauge of the Rajputana-Malwa main-line should be changed, as the route from the North-West Provinces, via the Rewari-Ferozepore section, on one continuous line, would then cease to exist; and if the Rajputana Railway should before long be converted to the broad gauge, then it is a consequence that the Hydrabād-Pachpadra proposed line should be based also on that gauge. There would still remain the branch from Marwar Junction to Pachpadra, but its length is, in comparison, so short that the question does not require discussion.

We use red-tape by the yard in England, but in India the consumption is calculated by the ell. I have reason to believe that the memorial or petition of a subject addressed to the Queen, and trans-

mitted simply through a Secretary of State, would in its due course be submitted to Her Majesty ; but the Viceroy is not so easily approached. The petition of a subject of the Empress is presented in Sind, to the Commissioner of that Province ; who remits it to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay ; who remits it to the Secretary of the Government of India ; who submits it, I presume, to the Governor-General in Council ; who returns it to the Secretary of his Government ; who ultimately forwards a reply. It is not, therefore, surprising that the reply to memorials drawn up in the spring should not reach the petitioners until the winter ; the more so, as it has to climb down the rounds of the ladder, in the same way that the original addresses ascended them. But at length the Secretary in the P.W.D. of the Government of India did send a dispatch dated the 11th October, 1887, to the Secretary in the P.W.D. of the Government of Bombay, copy of which was forwarded to the Commissioner in Sind, and the contents became public property in the following month. This dispatch is signed by Colonel R. C. B. Pemberton, R.E. ; but as the Council of the Governor General is divided for administrative purposes into Committees, and as the head of the Public Works Committee at this time was Sir Theodore C. Hope, K.C.S.I., it would be unfair to impose on the Colonel the whole responsibility of its contents, simply because it bears his signature, when it is clear that it must have been written with the knowledge and sanction of Sir Theodore, and probably of his colleagues. Generally speaking the reply of the P.W.D. must be taken to represent the views of the whole Council ; but the two officials whom I have named were probably charged with the duty of filling in the details, and in some of these the errors are apparently so great as to lead us to presume that the study of arithmetic did not form part of the curriculum through which aspirants for cadetships in the civil and military branches of the Honourable East India Company's service had to pass, in the old days of Haileybury and Addiscombe. The dispatch was severely handled by the public Press of India ; and in Kurrachee it caused very great irritation, and raised a perfect storm, which found an outlet in a series of public meetings, and in the presentation of a new and personal memorial to the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, who arrived on a visit to the Port, just when the excitement was at its height.

I will not impose upon my readers the trouble of wading through the dispatch of the Public Works Department, but will shortly summarize the reasons that are given for refusing to grant the request of the petitioners.

In the first place it is stated that the saving in distance by the proposed route is not 100 miles, as stated by the Memorialists, but only 68, as shown by the following table :

PROPOSED ROUTE.	Miles.	PRESENT ROUTE.	Miles.
Agra to Marwar Junction...	321	Agra to Marwar Junction ...	321...
Marwar Junction to Pachpadra	104	Marwar Junction to Bombay	527... 848
Pachpadra to Indus ...	250		
Kotri to Karachi	105	Difference in favour of Karachi	... 68
	780		

and that even this advantage would be nullified by the facts that such a distance is too small to have any practical effect upon through rates, and that the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway would certainly quote a rate low enough to counterbalance the 68 miles of extra distance. The advantage of Kurrachee, in its greater proximity to Europe, which varies according to the season, but is believed to amount on an average to less than 24 hours' ordinary steaming would be nullified, according to the dispatch, by two circumstances : viz., the delay and expense of a ferry over the Indus, at Hydrabād, estimated by the Director General of Railways in the similar case at Sukkur, as equal to not less than 80 miles of railway transit ; and the unquestionable superiority of Bombay in respect of supply and power of tonnage available, and in financing, accommodation, &c.

Regarding the engineering aspect of the project the views entertained appear, to the Department of Public Works, to be somewhat sanguine. Their information regarding the western part of the State of Jodhpore indicates sandhills rising in places to 300 and 400 feet, and water sometimes 300 feet below the surface, usually brackish, and in some localities noxious ; the surveys lately made between Ajmere and Bhawulpore show unexpectedly heavy gradients, and long distances almost devoid of water, and the estimate in that case, for a broad gauge railway, *comes to fully a lakh per mile.* Then follows the unfortunate display of defective knowledge of the rules of addition and multiplication ; but it is useless "to flog a dead horse," and this point has already been so severely criticised that I hesitate again to refer to it. The Secretary of the Public Works Department assumes that the cost of a metre-gauge railway, with permanent way suitable for a paying traffic, could not be roughly put at less than Rs. 70,000 per mile, including exchange ;

and proceeds to calculate that "this would give an outlay of 157 lakhs of rupees for the British portion (150 miles), and 70 lakhs more for that in Jodhpore (100 miles), or a total of 245 lakhs on which a dividend must be earned."

Now to an ordinary mind it would seem that 150 miles at Rs. 70,000 would amount to Rs. 10,500,000, or say 105 lakhs, instead of 157 lakhs; that 100 miles at the same rate would be 70 lakhs; and that 105 + 70 = 175 lakhs, instead of 245; and that consequently there was an error of seventy lakhs in the calculations of the Public Works Department. This apparent mis-statement caused great elation amongst the supporters of the scheme; it was seized upon by the Press, and criticised in no measured terms; and, as I have already stated, it caused a good deal of irritation at Kurrachee. But the elation should have been short-lived, and the irritation ought to have been promptly allayed, had the Memorialists accepted in a proper spirit of respect and humility a "revised letter" which was promptly issued by the Department. I regret to say that they did not do so; the correction gave greater offence than the original inaccuracy, and the sublime coolness and assurance with which the Public Works Secretary proved to his own satisfaction, that 105 + 70 = 245, and that his calculations were absolutely correct, only served to increase the angry passions that had been excited. The extracts from the original and revised letters, which are here inserted side by side, will explain the position; and I have taken the liberty of printing in italic the additions interpolated in the latter, which constitute, in the language, not of a virulent unlicensed Press, but of a sober-minded representative merchant of Kurrachee, and Chairman of its Chamber of Commerce, "the fudging of the sum."

Original Letter.	*Revised Letter.*
The cost of a metre gauge railway with permanent way suitable for a paying traffic, could not be roughly put at less than Rs. 70,000 per mile, including exchange. This would give an outlay of 175 lakhs of Rupees for the British portion, and 70 lakhs more for that in Jodhpore, or a total of 245 lakhs.	The cost of a metre gauge railway with permanent way suitable for a paying traffic, could not be roughly put at less than Rs. 70,000 per mile, including exchange. This would give an outlay of 105 lakhs of Rupees for the British portion, and 70 lakhs more for that in Jodhpore, *to which must be added another 70 lakhs for the open line in Jodhpore when brought up to the same standard of construction*, making a total of 245 lakhs.

It is clear that this reconstruction of the line already made in Jodh-

pore, which is perfectly efficient, was simply an afterthought, and was inserted to "fudge" or "cook" the account, and get the Department out of a serious dilemma; but it is certainly extraordinary that the original dispatch, which it took some months to concoct, and which must have passed through the hands of numerous Government officials, such as writers, copyists, clerks, and under-secretaries, should have been allowed to see the light, with the ridiculous mistake that it contains, and should have required the "cooking" to which it has been subjected.

Passing to the general arguments, Colonel Pemberton is instructed to observe that the Government of India are unable to admit that the North Western Railway serves a limited area, or is unable to convey the traffic which can reasonably be expected to seek the sea at Kurrachee, and he proceeds to state that the length of the line is 2,577 miles, and that it has cost the State 46 millions sterling. The expense is probably not over-stated; in fact, I should say (in view of the last "Administration Report on the Railways in India," and of the assertion of a high official of the Government made some 25 years previously, that the Sind Railway—that is to say, the line from Kurrachee to Kotree—cost nearly £18,000 per mile of single line, without stations, and at a time when the price of labour was much less than it is now) that the total cost was much greater; but I cannot make the figures as to the length of line accord with the latest that have been published. The Director-General of Railways asserts that the North Western Railway now comprises a total of 2,481 miles of line open for general traffic, including all the branch lines, that are mentioned by Colonel Pemberton, which leaves a difference of 96 miles; and he goes on to state that of this mileage *the total commercial section* is only 1,590, deducting very properly the *military sections*—viz., the Sind-Pishin and the Sind-Sagar Railways. This portion of the reply leaves the argument of the Memorialists exactly as it was. They never deny that they have the circuitous route to Delhi *viâ* Lahore and Amritzir, but they say that the value of that route to their port is spoilt by the Rewari-Ferozepore line, which takes the supplies of the North-West, and carries them down to Bombay.

It is because the round-about journey does not meet the requirements of the port, that the residents ask for a more direct line; but the Secretary of the Public Works Department tells them that the reason that Kurrachee has no large branch eastwards from Lower Sind "is due solely to the inevitable geographical disadvantage under which the Province labours, of being bounded on the east by the wild desert of

Rajputana." But whether "the geographical disadvantage is inevitable," and whether the desert of Rajputana be "wild," are points that were submitted by the Memorialists, with a view to the institution of inquiries, which private parties are unable to make.

To the well-merited laudation of the value of their port, which is made by the Memorialists, the dispatch contains a sarcastic and not very ingenuous reference. "The fact should be borne in mind," it says, "that the large assistance, some 35 lakhs of rupees since 1884, which the Government of India has in one form or another afforded to the port, had partly in view the provision of ample accommodation against times of political emergency"; but no mention is made of another fact, viz.: that the assistance afforded for supplying pier and harbour accommodation was in the form of a loan, on which Kurrachee has to pay interest at a rate that leaves a handsome profit to the Government; and on the same subject it goes on to state "that it is with much regret that the Government of India finds itself unable to meet the wishes of the Local Government and the community of Karachi, especially at a time when the latter are suffering from a contraction in their commercial operations. The latter would seem, judging from the statistics of which an abstract is given in the margin, to be due to a decline in the export trade from natural and unavoidable causes, which a large increase in imports has not sufficed to counterbalance, rather than any actual decadence; in any case, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council fully sympathises with the inconvenience which it no doubt occasions, and trusts that its duration may prove to be only temporary," completely ignoring the fact that the decline in the export trade, and the inconvenience with which the Governor-General sympathises, were the result of the opening of the Rewari-Ferozepore Railway, which moreover obliged the North Western (State) Railway to reduce their rates.

Value Rs.	Years.	Tonnage of loaded steamers.
7,07,70,838	1882-83	552,006
8,98,90,602	1883-84	713,737
9,24,45,626	1884-85	712,246
10,20,72,746	1885-86	854,331
9,20,58,493	1886-87	750,522

The conclusions at which the Public Works Department arrived, in reply to the memorials and petitions that had been presented, are summarised towards the end of the dispatch in the following terms:—

"Under these circumstances, I am to state that the Government of India are unable to recognise the project as one of those which it would be desirable to undertake, or to sanction expenditure upon the survey of it. It must be added, however, that even if the scheme had been more

promising, *the state of the finances would have precluded their affording any financial assistance to it.* I am to suggest, however, as an appropriate local measure in the direction desired, that the Bombay Government might take into consideration the scheme put forward by the Director, North-Western Railway, in a letter to the Commissioner-in-Sind, dated 14th March last, for a comparatively inexpensive feeder branch from the Indus to Mirpore Khas. I am also to intimate that the Patiala State have in contemplation to continue at their own expense their Rajpura-Patiala Railway to Bhatinda, and that a survey thence to Bhawalpur will be undertaken in connection with the project, with a view to an extension which, though the Government of India are unfortunately not in a position to construct it, might very appropriately be undertaken by private enterprise."

The sweeping nature of the condemnation of the project, based as it was, in more than one instance, on gross misstatements, caused, as I have already said, great irritation in Kurrachee, and an influential meeting was held under the Presidency of the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, at which several points were elucidated. For example, as regards the superiority of Bombay in respect of supply and power of tonnage available, and of financing, accommodation, etc.: it was stated that if Kurrachee had the produce to ship, any number of steamers that might be wanted would be forthcoming; that as to financing, bills could be negotiated there as easily as in Bombay, and that in addition to the existing Banks, others had declared their willingness to establish branches, should any encouragement be given to them; and on the point of "accommodation" it was proved by figures that Kurrachee is distinctly better off than Bombay, for in consequence of the lower rates of wages, cart hire, and warehousing at the former port, the Terminal charges on wheat and seeds are some annas less than at the latter.

The Government estimate for the construction of the line was questioned, and the Chairman informed his hearers that they should be quite contented with *used* rails, which would be better utilized in constructing the Pachpadra line, than if they were sold to the United States. Herein is a charge:—namely, that rails purchased for use in India are sold out of that country, but it is a charge that there is no occasion for me to press or to defend; and herein is also displayed that radical weakness of the Chamber of Commerce, and of the residents of Kurrachee, of which I have previously complained. If, on reasonable grounds they were asking for Government assistance in carrying out a project for the

benefit of India in general, and of their Port in particular, why should they agree to accept half measures? The reply of course would be that "Half a loaf is better than no bread," but the answer to that is why not pluck at the golden gown? why not require that your line shall be well and substantially constructed? Surely if the Government accedes to the proposal, it would not commit the gross error of building a railway, that would require re-constructing in the course of a few years. If there is no traffic for a sound and permanent line, then the Government is right in refusing its consent to the laying of the same.

But, as a matter of fact, the cost of rails had nothing to do with the question submitted to the meeting. Rails, whether old or new, are dependent on the market price of iron in this country, and an estimate of cost made in 1887 would be absolutely fallacious in respect of 1889. The point that has peculiarly struck me, in making a careful study of the correspondence between the Kurrachee Memorialists and the Department of Public Works, is the great and confessed ignorance of the latter regarding the topographical features of the districts through which the former proposed to construct the Railway. Of that line, far from being a supporter, I am a strong opponent. Advocating, as I feebly do, the interests of Kurrachee, I foresee that Bombay will pick all the meat off the Pachpadra joint, and that only the bone will be left to the Port of Sind; no importers or exporters would adopt a route with a change of gauge, and also a *ferry*, even if they saved 70 miles in distance, when their goods could be conveyed without the ferry. And I think that on this ground alone the Department of Public Works might have returned a polite refusal to the Memorialists; but they go out of their way to be discourteous, and to display their own ignorance. If at Simla they knew nothing about the Thar and Pārkar Superintendency, surely inquiries could have been directed to the Commissioner in Sind. That official had at his command ample means for obtaining information; for Umarkōt is the head-quarter station of the district, and is in direct communication with Kurrachee, by telegraph.

Between Umerkot and Jodhpor there is constant intercourse, *viâ* Guddra, Balmir, and Pachpadra, not only for business transactions, but also for the maintenance of family relations, for until 1813 it formed part of the dominions of the Rajā of Jodhpur, and probably there are some few individuals still resident at Umerkot who were subjects of that State, for Hindūs frequently live to a great age. Upwards of 40 years before the date of Colonel Pemberton's dispatch, a Quartermaster-General of

the Bombay Army (Lieutenant-Colonel J. Holland) had presented a report on the very route to which I am referring, and in it he frequently mentions the existence of sand, of sandhills, and of jungles, but allows that there was a cart road and a fair supply of water all the way through. Where a native cart can pass a railway can be laid!

What has become of the old Intelligence Department of the East India Company? Where are the successors of those men, who, carrying their lives in their hands, accompanied by the smallest of escorts, and by the fewest possible attendants, never hesitated to venture among the wildest mountainous tribes, and to beard the most ruthless chieftains in their *darbar*, and who yet, while displaying the most consummate bravery, and the most dignified courtesy, did not disdain to act as *bagmen;* military men, who, while collecting the most detailed statistics as to the troops, the munitions of war, and the means of defence, that existed in the strange countries that they visited, could also report on the state of the crops, the peculiarities of the local trade, and the price of cloth in the bāzārs? Were there no Queen's officers on whose shoulders their mantles could fall? It would seem not; for after nearly fifty years' possession of Thur and Pārkar, the Secretary to the Public Works Department of the Government of India is only able to state "that information regarding the western part of the State of Jodhpore *indicates* sandhills rising in places to 300 and 400 feet, and water sometimes 300 feet below the surface, usually brackish, and in some localities noxious. And he proceeds to refer to the surveys lately made between Ajmere and Bhawalpur, which show unexpectedly heavy gradients, and long distances almost devoid of water.

There was one gentleman in Kurrachee at this very time, when the correspondence between the Public Works Department and the Memorialists was being interchanged, who could have given a good deal of information to the former, had inquiries been addressed to him. I have already mentioned Dr. James Pollen, in connection with my remarks on social life in Kurrachee; but his official position in Sind, and his personal qualifications, entitle him to rank as a great authority on all matters relating to that Province. Still a young man, he has held for some years the responsible position of Assistant-Commissioner in Sind, and in the fulfilment of his duties he made constant visits to the confines of that Province, and especially to the Superintendency of Thur and Pārkar; and as there are at least two gentlemen of the same name in

the Bombay Civil Service, in order to make a distinction between them, he is generally known as "Pollen of Thur and Pārkar." But Pollen possesses still further titles to the position of a foremost adviser in all matters relating to Sind, and, I might add, to other parts of India. He is probably one of the most promising linguists of which that Empire can boast. The Bombay Civil List states that he has passed examinations in Russian, Hindustani, Marathi, Persian, and Sindee, and that of the last-named language he is the official translator to Government. With the facility that a perfect command of the languages spoken in the district must give, and with the experience obtained from his frequent visits to the locality, it would seem that Dr. Pollen's advice on this otherwise neglected portion of Sind would be of great value to the authorities, especially in connection with its improvement and development; but I do not learn that he was ever requested to furnish a special report in relation to the requirements of the Kurrachee petitioners.

He did, however, write a letter to the public Press, in which he commented on the cautious statement of Colonel Pemberton as to the *indication* of "sand-hills rising in places to 300 and 400 feet," and asserted that this description does not apply to the route east of Umarkot, or to the western part of Jodhpur, through which the proposed Railway will have to pass. "That there are sandhills in Western Jodhpur and Eastern Thur and Pārkar," he says, "is well known; but it is not equally well known that after the first fifteen miles or so out from Umarkot the road to Gadra and on to Balmir runs through an open, slightly undulating valley, or succession of valleys, and that the country between Balmir and Pachpadra is, except for about fourteen miles, *flat*. Nor is it correct to describe the route as consisting of 'great uncultivated tracts of wilderness.' Hamlets, villages, and herds of cattle of all kinds are numerous, and the valleys are fertile and fairly well cultivated."

His communication was by no means well received, as it tended to upset the reasoning of the Public Works Department.

The apathy of Bombay in regard to the Pachpadra Railway appears to me to be the most forcible proof that its construction would not have had the effect which its promoters expected—namely, that of bringing to Kurrachee a great portion of the trade of Northern and Eastern India. It does not follow that the whole of this trade increase to the Western Port would have been deducted from that which is now carried to Bombay, for new railway facilities might of themselves create new outlets, and add considerably to the traffic; but had the Presidency City

recognized the fact that the proposed line would be the cause of its trade being decreased by one single ton, it would have been instantly up in arms to obstruct and defeat the project. But it took the whole matter with the greatest calmness, and seemed to treat the project partly with contempt, and partly with encouragement, not absolutely certain of the result, but inclining to the belief that the new line would bring still more grist to the mill.

It is very different at the present time, when a scheme of much vaster importance—viz.: that for a direct railway from the Indus to Delhi—has been brought to public notice; for in it there is lurking great danger to the import and export trade of Bombay, and also to the traffic returns of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railways; or at least the commercial world of the City, and the shareholders of the Company imagine that to be the case. It is very possible that they treated the minor project with too much levity, and exaggerate the injury that they assume the major one will inflict; but it is quite certain that the latter is the outcome of the former. "It is remarkable," wrote Sir Bradford Leslie to the "Times," in October, 1887, "that the aspirations of a comparatively small trading community should first have drawn attention to a line of communication which is of the highest importance to our Indian Empire, and which, owing to Kurrachee being 200 miles nearer to Suez than Bombay is, must become the mail route between Europe and Upper India. No doubt the special character of the works involved, and the supposed difficulty in constructing and working a line of railway over a more or less desert tract, and the absence of local traffic, accounts for this important route having been so long neglected; but there is no case of improvement in communications so specially within the province of railways to effect as the bridging of deserts, of which the Cairo and Suez line was the first, and the Russian Transcaspian Railway is the latest instance."

It was this letter which first called public attention to a *Great Eastern* or *Great Western* Railway of India; and during the two years that have elapsed since its publication, the idea has been making slow but certain progress.

CHAPTER XIII.

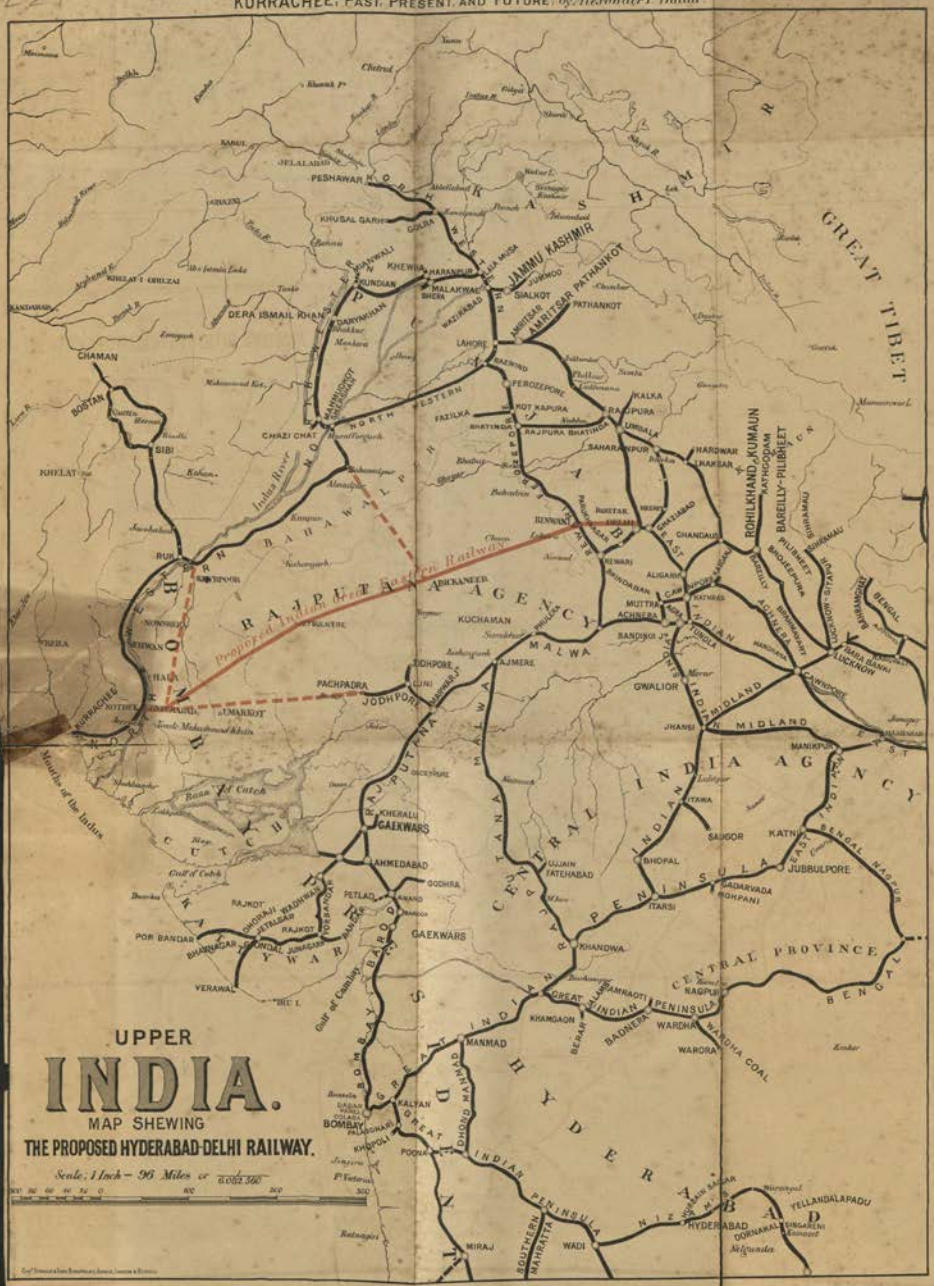
THE DESERT RAILWAY.—STATISTICS OF COMMERCE.—POSTAL AND TELEGRAPHIC FACILITIES.

THE name of Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., has long been known in connection with the East Indian Railway, of which for many years he was the Agent. This great work, which was commenced by an English company formed in 1849, has proved a most remunerative undertaking to the shareholders; and even since it came in the hands of the Government it is one of the very few State railways from which any profit is derived; but it is a line that is worked with the very greatest economy, and its success is in a great measure due to the able administration of Sir Bradford Leslie. It will be generally allowed that an official who can manage a line upwards of 1,500 miles in length, with honour to himself, and profit to his employers, must be an expert in railway administration of no mean qualifications; and when to his experience is added that of several other gentlemen, who during their long residence in India have acquired an intimate knowledge of the country, its inhabitants and its trade, it must be conceded that their united opinions as to the value of a railway through any specified district, is worthy of full consideration, and ought to carry weight.

Such an opinion is offered in a Memorandum now lying before me, which bears date of October 1887, and is entitled "Proposed Sind, Rajputana and Punjab Railway."

The signatories are Bradford Leslie, G. W. Allen, F. S. Stanton, and W. S. Trevor. Mr. Allen is well-known as an old and esteemed resident of Allahabad, but still more widely as the Proprietor of the "Pioneer," the leading newspaper of the North West Provinces and the Punjab, which has a very large circulation all over India. Major General W. S. Trevor, a distinguished officer of the Royal Engineers, who has received the decoration of the "Victoria Cross," was until recently Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Public Works; and Major General Stanton, also of the Royal Engineers, was formerly Director General of Indian Railways.

KURRACHEE, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE, by Alexander F Baillie



I might mention that there is another Major General Trevor, also a R.E., with very similar initials, who is Chairman of the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway Company. This gentleman should not be confounded with the signatory to the memorandum referred to, as it is not presumed that he is a supporter of a rival line of railway across India.

It will be seen therefore that the quartette who have attached their names comprises individuals who are well entitled to claim a hearing on the question of railway development in India, and the cause that they have taken in hand has already received the support of many other eminent men who have held distinguished official positions in that country, and of several of the leading newspapers both out there, and at home.

The memorandum points out that the distance from Kurrachee to Delhi, viâ the Indus Valley, Mooltan, and Lahore, is 1,174 miles, as compared with 954 miles from Delhi to Calcutta, and 888 from Delhi to Bombay, by the existing routes; and that these distances are the measure of the disadvantage at which Kurrachee competes for a share of the traffic of the commercial capital of Upper India, of which it ought to be the natural outlet, the distance from Delhi to the Port of Sind being actually less than to either of the two other ports, while the sea voyage to Europe viâ the Suez Canal is shorter by 20 hours' steaming than that from Bombay. To remove this disadvantage, and to afford to the wheat trade of the Punjab and the North-west provinces a fair chance of competition with the United States of America, and other grain-exporting countries, the memorandum goes on to state that the time has now arrived for placing Delhi 168 miles nearer to the seaboard than it is at present, by means of a direct trunk line of railway from Kotri on the Indus (105 miles from Kurrachee), viâ Hydrabād, Jeysulmere, Bickaneer, Bhiwani and Rohtak to Delhi, a distance of about 620 miles. This is in fact a project for a Railway across a vast area, which is commonly called the *desert* of Rajputana; at first sight, a very arduous undertaking, but as Sir Bradford Leslie writes in the letter to the *Times* already quoted, *the bridging of deserts is the especial province of Railways;* and it does not appear that the tract of land that the line would traverse is entirely waste and barren, or without life and cultivation, such as we consider to be implied by the word *desert.*

Jeysulmere, the most westerly, and Bickaneer, the most northerly

state of Rajputana, are the two divisions of that country to which our attention may be confined, for it is only through them that the line would pass. Jeysulmere is undoubtedly a sandy, riverless district, with a climate characterized by extraordinary extremes of temperature, the thermometer sometimes being as low as 32° F., and rising within a month to 119°. In the northern part, towards Bhawalpūr, there is scarcely any vegetation; but in the more southern districts there are ridges of hills, and occasional oases, with pasture for feeding large herds of cattle, and great numbers of sheep. Water is collected during the periodical rains by damming up water-courses and ravines, but pure drinking water is obtained only by sinking wells, which are sometimes 300 feet deep. This, of course, is a very great defect, but not one that would necessarily impede the construction of a railway. The Rajputana-Malwa line runs through a country which, in the earlier part of the present century, was not dissimilar to that which I have briefly depicted. I am well acquainted with a venerable old lady of 90, who commanded a Native Regiment that entered Ajmere, about 1820; at least she always says *we commanded;* but I fancy that she divided the responsibility with her husband. The troops suffered very great deprivations through want of water, but in a very short time the difficulty was got over, and Cantonments were firmly established. If a marching regiment without any but the most ordinary appliances could obtain a good supply, surely, with modern engines and machinery, there would be no difficulty in meeting all the demands of the railway staff and passengers! Bickaneer is not quite so bad as Jeysulmere, but still it is hot, arid, and but little cultivated. It does, however, produce crops of millet and bajree in considerable quantities, and the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who traversed the country at the head of a mission about 1820, observes: "It is really a subject of wonder to see water-melons, the most juicy of fruits, three or four feet in circumference, growing from a stalk as slender as that of a common melon, in the dry sand of the desert." The natives assert that one of these large melons suffices to allay the thirst of a horse and his rider. It will be comforting for those passengers who may at some future date travel across Rajputana by railway, to know that, although Mr. Elphinstone found the heat terrific, yet the hot season did not prove at all unhealthy.

But, coming to more modern times, a good deal of information regarding Jeysulmere has been furnished during the present year. The attention that had been called to the subject of lateral railway com-

munication between Kurrachee and other parts of India, in the Press and by the Memorandum to which I have referred, obliged the Government to take action, and Mr. Horace Bell was instructed to make a reconnaissance of the proposed line from Kotri to Delhi, in the cold season of 1888-89. A very interesting paper, entitled "The Great Indian Desert," by Mr. Bell, was published in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of July, 1889, and to it I must refer those of my Readers who should care to learn more about this region, the surface of which he describes "as resembling the Atlantic in a severe storm, but that the height and length of the waves are enlarged threefold."

My task is less pleasing, for I must confine myself to Mr. Bell's *Report* on the Railway project, and his conclusions.

The reconnaissance was made by two parties. Mr. Bell started at the end of October, 1888, from Kotri, and worked towards Jeysulmere, while Mr. C. H. Croudace, Executive Engineer, marched from Delhi, through Bickaneer, to meet him. The distance between these two last places is 245 miles, and Mr. Croudace states that for the first 57 miles out of Delhi there is a perfectly easy and rich country, needing no notice as regards its engineering aspect; and that for the remaining distance—188 miles to Bickaneer—the ground is undulating, of poor sandy soil, most of it being covered with low sandhills, which now show no signs of movement, or of giving trouble. The ruling grade would be about 1 in 150, without getting banks or cuttings over 15 feet in depth; but the grades would be much broken, and alternating up and down. Through this section a line could be kept open all the year through, without any special expense. From Bickaneer to Jeysulmere the route is somewhat similar, but there are some sandhills which would give trouble.

Leaving Hydrabād, the other terminus of the proposed route, Mr. Bell reports that on the section through Mirpūr to Khipra, on the Nara River, a distance of 79 miles, no difficulties of any magnitude are encountered; but that at the last place the troubles commence. The distance to Jeysulmere is 120 miles, and for the first 80 miles the report states: "We have the worst of the whole line, viz.: ridge after ridge of sandhills, many of them 'blowing' or moving, and of mountainous size." "This section," writes Mr. Bell, "I regard as wholly impracticable for a line of railway, unless under conditions of construction, which must be very costly, and subject even with this to an outlay on maintenance which may tell seriously on the fiscal aspect of the project. The very low cost, however, at which the line could be constructed in other

respects, and on the rest of the line, makes it quite possible to contemplate a very heavy outlay on this comparatively short section, if we can be assured, after experiments which I have suggested elsewhere, that such outlay would render the line practically safe for traffic throughout the year."

The indication of sandhills in the western part of the State of Jodhpore, mentioned in the letter of the Public Works Department to the Kurrachee Memorialists, is consequently confirmed by Mr. Bell, except in one particular, viz.: that this short, but excessively bad section is not in Jodhpore at all, but lies chiefly in the Sind desert, for Khipra is in Thur and Parkār, well within the frontier of that Superintendency.

As regards the cost of the line, Mr. Bell remarks: "The length on the broad gauge would be 630 miles, and the total cost, including 18 lakhs for the Indus Bridge, would be a little over 413 lakhs, or the very low figure of Rs. 65,611 per mile. If, however, 90 miles of the line were raised on small span-girders (7½ feet spans centres) 14 inches above the sand, the cost per mile would be raised to Rs. 82,420 per mile, or about £5,888."

Under £6,000 per mile, with exceptional expenses included, seems by no means an excessive charge for a line of railway, to which Mr. Bell allows, as we shall shortly see, that many advantages are attached; and it is somewhat curious to note how closely his figures correspond with those of Sir Bradford Leslie, as set forth in the memorandum of 1887. The latter, who had not gone over the ground, makes the distance 620 miles, as compared with 630, the result of Mr. Bell's reconnaissance; and he puts the cost at Rs. 80,000 per mile, against Rs. 82,420, which includes the raising of the line for 90 miles. It is true that Leslie's calculation is based on a greater length of line, for in the project submitted by the signatories of the Memorandum are included two branches—one starting from a point about 30 miles from Hydrabād, and traversing the left bank of the Indus to Rohri, the same line, in fact, which many years previously had been recommended by Brunton, Engineer to the Sind Railway; and the other from Bickaneer to Bhawalpūr; but to these I have not referred, for, although they may ultimately prove valuable feeders to the Trunk line, and alternative lines of communication in support of the defensive positions on the North West frontier, yet they have no immediate bearing on the point under discussion—that of direct communication by railway between Kurrachee and Delhi. Nor do I understand that Sir Bradford includes the cost of a

bridge over the Indus at Kotree in his estimate, and consequently we must add to it 18 lakhs, which would raise the cost per mile by about Rs. 400 over that of Mr. Bell. These estimates are founded on prices which are much below those which are now current; but even if a third be added, the cost of the railway would be remarkably low, as compared with that of the North Western Railway, which was so strongly put forward by the Public Works Department as an opposing element to the construction of a new line.

Two eminent authorities on railway construction in India have arrived therefore at the conclusions that a line across Rajputana is perfectly practicable, and that it could be built at a very reasonable expense, but when they come to the advantages that the undertaking would offer to investors, they differ considerably.

Mr. Bell's brief summary of his views of the project is as follows:

(*a*) That the line would be one of comparatively heavy alternating grades, and that it will involve exceptional difficulties as regards drift-sand and water-supply, but that these may probably be met by exceptional outlay.

(*b*) That it may probably, even with this heavy outlay on a part of the line, be made for the low figure of Rs. 82,420 per mile, including the cost of a bridge over the Indus.

(*c*) That its low cost will not make it a remunerative undertaking, in so far that with the estimated gross earnings of Rs. 142 per mile per week, it will return only a fraction over 3 per cent on the capital.

(*d*) That its value as a military and postal line may be considerable, and that the saving in distance to the seaboard over the present shortest route would be at least 150 miles.

(*e*) That it would be of great service as a means of relieving the almost chronic condition of scarcity or famine in the States of Bikanir, Jeysulmir, and Marwar.

(*f*) That the line would stimulate the imports of European goods, and that Karachi would get a large share of this business.

In November 1887 the late Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, paid a visit to Kurrachee, and was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipality. In his reply he referred to the question of railway communication between the Port and eastern India, and expressed his sympathies with the desires of the people of Sind in this matter; but he added that he must be guided by the views of the Specialists whose duty it was to advise the Government on such points, and that "moreover the

powers of the Indian Government as to expenditure on railways, and the granting of guarantees were strictly limited, and it was hampered by the necessity for maintaining a continuity of policy *in the completion of certain famine lines*."

I do not find in any of the memorials that have been presented on the subject of the Delhi-Kotri Scheme, or in any of the letters or memoranda that have been written in its support, that allusion was made to the benefits that would be conferred on the native population by its fulfilment, and we have to thank Mr. Bell for this great testimony in its favour, "that it would be of great service as a means of relieving *the almost chronic condition of scarcity or famine* in the States of Bickaneer, Jeysulmere, and Marwar;" a statement which brings the project within that category of famine lines, the construction of which is of primary necessity in the policy of the Government.

Chronic is an exceedingly apt prefix to the condition of scarcity which ordinarily prevails in outlying districts in India, and which is patiently accepted by the natives as their inevitable destiny, but *scarcity* hardly carries to our minds the extremity of privation to which even in normal times they are reduced. It is the polite official phrase, which is employed when it is inconvenient to recognize the true state of affairs, and is intended to signify that there is some want of supplies, but that nevertheless the sufferers are able to keep body and soul together. This WE should call *famine;* but when this word is used in India—when the Government can no longer conceal the fact that it exists—it means a great deal worse:—it means *famishment*, the agony of dying of hunger and thirst—the death of myriads of our fellow subjects in such unutterable misery, that the flitting of the Spirit must almost be regarded as a happy release.

The settlement of districts of small and precarious rainfall, though otherwise favoured by climate and soil, like many parts of Rajputana, is limited to the population which can be maintained in *the least favourable seasons*, which recur in cycles of about seven years. In the best of seasons there may be a surplus of produce after all immediate requirements have been met, but as the inhabitants are destitute of natural or artificial means of communication with the rest of the world, that surplus produce lies upon the land, to rot. There is no way of converting it into some sort of provision for the famine year, that will follow in its inevitable course;—and there is

nothing to stimulate the energies of the cultivators, or brighten their existence. The running of a line of railway through such a district changes the conditions from those of stagnation to progress; the community is assured against the horrors of famine; the dealers, with telegraphic advice of the prices of agricultural produce at the great marts throughout India, buy up any available surplus, and give out advances for prospective crops; a cheap outlet for produce implies a better price to the producer, which leads to more land being brought under cultivation with augmented production, and increased consumption of imported articles.

The position in which Mr. Bell is placed is certainly a hard one; he was sent out to *curse*, but he returned to *bless*. The "specialists" whose duty it is to advise the Government were not only opposed to the scheme, but they were moreover peevish and annoyed in consequence of the ridicule they had brought upon themselves, through the ill-considered dispatch in reply to the Kurrachee memorialists; their foolish policy in regard to the Pachpadra Railway obliged them to give instructions for a reconnaissance of the Delhi-Kotri route, but they did not so with a very poor heart, and were only relieved by the hope that it would prove impracticable, and set the question at rest for a long time.

There are two other interests strongly opposed to the new project, as for instance all those who are concerned in the development of the Rajputana-Malwa and the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railways, and doubtlessly the official and un-official sentiments regarding the scheme were hinted to Mr. Bell, when he started for the wilderness. But on all those points on which, as a practical engineer, and expert on railway construction, his opinion is of the highest value, his views, as, set forth in his brief summary, are most favourable to the undertaking; and it is only in the clause C where he ventures on the financial question, on which his opinion was not asked, and on which he may, or may not, be a high authority, that he reports adversely.

That the gross earnings will only amount to Rs. 142 per mile per week, is Mr. Bell's own estimate, and is simply his statement. It is based on the assumption that four powerful Corporations, the East Indian, the Indian Midland, the Rajputāna-Malwa, and the North Western Railways will all be hostile to the new line; and that consequently the through traffic on which the success of the undertaking must depend cannot exceed Rs. 100, or at most Rs. 110, per mile per week on the average of the first four working years. As regards the

Rajputana-Malwa line Mr. Bell's assumption is doubtless correct, for it is only natural to expect that a corporation which has at present the shortest lead to the seaboard, and which nearly commands the whole through traffic from Delhi, will make fierce opposition to the projected Railway, which will not only introduce a shorter lead to the port of embarkation but also to the point of destination of goods exported from Delhi and the surrounding districts; but his statement appears to be misleading as regards the other railways mentioned. For instance as regards the North Western, why should it be hostile to the proposed line? At present it has no through traffic from Delhi, to compare with that which passes over the Rajputāna-Malwa line to Bombay, because the route is upwards of 200 miles longer, and the Delhi-Kotri Railway, instead of interfering with its traffic detrimentally, will add enormously to its business between Kotri and Kurrachee.

The Indian Midland and the East Indian undoubtedly carry very large quantities of goods to and from the Rajputāna-Malwa system; but there does not appear to be any reason why they should not do the same to the Delhi-Kotri. So long as they have the traffic, it seems a matter of indifference where they discharge it, and they are hardly likely to raise the local rates simply to oblige the former.

Mr. Bell's figures show a return of a fraction over 3 per cent. on the capital; but if the hostility of four powerful Corporations is only a creation of his fancy, the gross through earnings will be certainly larger than his estimate, and the percentage on the capital outlay will proportionately increase.

Sir Bradford Leslie, in the Memorandum to which I have referred, has produced a detailed statement of the traffic that may be expected, and of the expenses that will have to be incurred on the proposed line; but he bases his calculations on a greater length, for he includes the branches to Rohri and Bhawalpore, and his capital outlay would be Rs. 84,000,000, or, say Rs. 80,000 for 1,050 miles. He assumes, however, the most adverse conditions, viz.: a very small proportion of passenger traffic, very low average rates and fares, and a high ratio of working expenses—namely, 62 per cent.; while the average ratio on all the railways in India, in 1888, was only 49·96.

Taking, as he says, a pessimist view of the prospects of the Railway, he shows a profit of 4 per cent. per annum on the capital outlay, the gross earnings being at the low rate of Rs. 163 per mile per week; while even in 1886, when there was a great falling-off in the wheat trade,

owing to failure of the crops in the Punjab, the average receipts per mile per week on the North Western Railway were Rs. 262, and on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway Rs. 228; and he further points out that, with these same gross earnings, but with expenses at 52 instead of 62 per cent., the line would pay over 5 per cent. on the capital outlay.

It is, moreover, incorrect to suppose that the passenger traffic will be on a very reduced scale, for, as Sir Bradford Leslie points out, "with a mail service between Kurrachee and Europe, the through passenger traffic would be considerable, as the intercourse between India and Europe is increased by every day that the journey is lessened. The proposed line would, moreover, be the direct route for pilgrims between Upper India and Mecca, and would also be the great military highway between England and India, by which the annual reliefs, as well as all military stores for the Bengal Presidency, would be moved;" and even locally there will be a good deal of movement, for, although the population through which the line will pass is sparse for India, it would be considered dense in any of our Colonies, or in the Argentine Republic, countries in which almost all the existing railways have been constructed with British capital.

If the above figures can be verified and maintained, in the face of the strong opposition with which they will be met, it would seem that the public might well invest in an undertaking which shows a reasonable rate of interest, and is unattended by any risk. But, again, if the figures that have been quoted can be maintained, it is much more desirable that the Government should at once adopt the infant, and guarantee interest on the cost of its development and education. A refusal to do so will not hinder its growth, but it might delay the early expansion of its limbs. The Director-General of Indian Railways, in his last report, states that "the large loss on guaranteed railways is mainly attributable to the comparatively high rate (above $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.) at which the guaranteed interest has to be paid"; but a much lower rate would at the present time be a sufficient inducement to attract all the capital that would be required for the construction of the line, the cause of which I am advocating not only in the interest of Kurrachee, but in that of at least one-half of India. Even if no pecuniary assistance be afforded by the Government, I should say that the object of the promoters might still be attained, by following a course that has been constantly adopted in reference to colonial and foreign railways—namely, that of paying interest during construction, *out* of capital. I am aware that such a pro-

ceeding is contrary to the dispositions of the Limited Liability Acts; but it is constantly done, not by an actual breach, but by an evasion, of the law. The contractor does not actually guarantee interest on the capital outlay, but in consideration of his being allowed the usufruct of the sections that from time to time may be opened, he pays a rental to the Company, which rental is applied to the payment of interest. Some such idea the signatories of the Memorandum appear to have had in view, for I note that Sir Bradford Leslie provides for *interest during construction* in his calculations; but it is not to be supposed that the Government of India would sanction an infraction of the law, under any circumstances, however specious they might be made to appear; but if "the state of the finances precludes their affording any financial assistance," as mentioned in the Public Works Dispatch of October, 1887, yet they have the power of passing a special Act to allow of interest being paid in the manner that I have indicated; and it is somewhat remarkable that the English investor is found ready to subscribe on such terms, notwithstanding the fact that the interest is actually paid out of his own pocket.

Generally, it would appear that in the Rajputana Desert is lying barren one of those splendid fields for investment, which the Secretary of State for India has so frequently offered for cultivation, but for which he has seldom found a tenant, simply because his terms were not sufficiently tempting. If he will now hold out an encouraging hand, there is little doubt but that the *Indian Great Eastern*, or the *Indian Great Western*—for it matters little by what name the railway may be called—will become a *fait accompli* even in a briefer space of time than that occupied in the construction of the Indian Midland, for the difficulties to be encountered are immensurably less.

In the earlier part of this work I have referred at some length to the commerce that existed in Kurrachee before its occupation by the British, and I have also mentioned the extraordinary and almost unparalleled increase in the trade that took place immediately after our advent; but in order to draw a just comparison between the traffic of the Port in the time of the Amīrs, and in that of the present Administration, we have to confine ourselves within certain limits.

Their exports were *nil*, and their imports were derived entirely from the Persian Gulf, and the ports, along the coast, so far down as Bombay; but with countries foreign to India they had no direct trade. On this basis we find that in 1837, with a population of 14,000 inhabi-

tants, goods to the value of Rs. 100 were imported in respect of each individual; but that in 1887, fifty years later, the value of such goods had declined to Rs. 77 in respect of each member of a community that had then increased to at least 80,000, so that the import *coast* trade which is that on which Kurrachee (as a native city distinct from the Port) chiefly depends, has in reality decreased during the period referred to.

As a matter of fact Kurrachee has no *commerce* of its own, if that word be employed in its usual signification of "exchange of merchandise"; it is not a depôt where goods are stored, and from which they can be despatched to any quarter, on receipt of an order by telegraph; it is simply a town situated on a port of transit, which takes such supplies as it may require for its own use and consumption, but only acts as an agent for other communities of Sind and the Punjāb. If a merchant of Lahore or Amritzar had to fulfil suddenly a large order for foreign goods, he would not apply to Kurrachee, but would send to Calcutta or Bombay, although the distance would be longer, because the former market would not have "in stock" the articles that he required on the spur of the moment; but if his order could stand over for a month, then he would send his requisition to Kurrachee, and order the goods to be forwarded through that port, as being the nearer and cheaper route.

It is in the removal of this defect that lies the great future of Kurrachee, and that lurks the danger of its rivalry with Bombay.

For some years it has been thriving purely on an agency business; thousands of tons of metal have been annually imported, for the construction of railway and other public works in the Punjāb, the North-West Provinces, and in Afghanistan and Biluchistān; and similarly thousands of tons of wheat, rapeseed, cotton, and wool have passed through it for shipment to foreign ports, but in actual buying and selling, and in the investment of capital for laying in stocks of goods, its transactions form a very small item in that large trade conducted through the Port, of which Kurrachee gets the credit.

But its individual and direct business will come, and is coming quickly; the tons of rails that have been landed at its wharves, that have been carried up to Ruk, and thence laid across the country to Sibi, Quettah, Chaman, and well on the way to Kandahar, will open up new markets, which must look solely to Kurrachee for their supply of foreign goods; and when the Indus is bridged at Kotree, and the

iron-horse is racing across the Desert, the transit trade will still continue, but to it will be added a direct commerce, befitting an Emporium which should be in a position to meet the requirements of the whole of Northern India. I may perhaps have minimized the local traffic of the town, but on the other hand I feel that I have made an exaggerated statement in speaking of the *unparalleled increase in its trade*, and that it is not honest to ascribe to the City a commerce, which really belongs to the Port.

There can be no question but that the Port, notwithstanding, its deficient railway communication, is a great factor of certain branches of the trade of India, especially in regard to the export of wheat and grain, and in support of this statement, although I have no great faith in statistics, and dislike inflicting them on my Readers, I will quote a few figures from the "Report of the Managing Committee of the Kurrachee Chamber of Commerce for the year and six months ending the 31st December, 1888," for which, they state, they are indebted to the Collector of Customs.

From this it appears that the total value of the trade of the Port for five years ending the 31st March 1888 was as follows :

1883-84	Rs.	8,98,90,600
1884-85	,,	9,24,15,626
1885-86	,,	10,20,72,746
1886-87	,,	9,20,58,493
1887-88	,,	8,86,79,948
and for 9 months (March to December 1888)	,,	8,11,11,748

The returns for the year 1885-1836 are the highest ever reached, but there were abnormal circumstances which tended to bring them to so high a figure. Exchange had fallen to its lowest level, and this caused an advance of Rupee prices for wheat. Producers sold therefore not only the whole crop of the year, which was an exceedingly good one, but they also sent into the market every bushel that they had in reserve ; and from the Punjāb there came down wheat several years old. The enormous quantity of 11,569,876 bushels, or about one tenth of the whole quantity of wheat imported during that year into England were shipped in 1885-86 for foreign use through the port of Kurrachee. In the following year the Punjab wheat crop, on which until a lateral railway be constructed, the export trade of Kurrachee entirely depends was unusually short, and all the reserve stocks having been exhausted, it

naturally followed that the returns were much lower. The crop of wheat in the spring of 1887 was a complete failure, and the quantity exported in the year ending March 1888 only amounted to 1,233,400, or about one tenth of that of 1885-86, but there was a considerable improvement in the last nine months of 1888, and during that period alone 5,571,944 bushels of wheat were shipped.

The fluctuations arising from short crops tell not only on the export but also on the import trade, for if the producers have no wheat to sell, they naturally have no money with which to purchase foreign goods, but from the following figures for five years and nine months ending 31st December, 1888, it will be seen that the changes in the import trade are by no means so noticeable as in that of exports :—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1883-84...	Rs. 1,44,04,562	Rs. 3,76,26,757	Rs. 5,20,31,319
1884-85...	,, 1,79,17,998	,, 3,97,65,657	,, 5,76,83,655
1885-86...	,, 2,18,40,874	,, 4,41,50,250	,, 6,59,91,124
1886-87...	,, 2,92,34,008	,, 2,96,24,309	,, 5,88,58,317
1887-88...	,, 2,72,78,592	,, 2,66,26,287	,, 5,39,04,879
9 months of 1888...	,, 2,74,32,975	,, 2,77,10,968	,, 5,51,43,943

And hence the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce congratulate themselves on the fact that, notwithstanding all drawbacks, the general trade of Kurrachee is expanding independently of its grain exports. They, however, also point out "that, notwithstanding her advantageous position, the trade of Kurrachee with the Punjab does not represent any striking preponderance over that with Bombay or Calcutta, as is illustrated by the following statement of percentages, taking the whole trade of the Punjab as 100 :—

	Imports.		Exports.	
	1886-87.	1887-88.	1886-87.	1887-88.
Kurrachee.....	20·9	21·0	19·8	17·0
Bombay	22·2	23·3	15·5	8·5
Calcutta	29·3	25·4	9·1	10·2
Others	27·6	30·3	55·6	64·3
	100	100	100	100

"From this it will be seen," they go on to say, "that a most unfavourable comparison appears in the imports, *i.e.*, the exports from Kurrachee to the Punjab, and the Committee are of opinion that some effort, in the direction of obtaining increased railway facility for the

movement of merchandise towards the Punjab, should engage the earnest attention of their successors."

Increased railway facility is undoubtedly very desirable, but the want of it is not the cause that Bombay and Calcutta have a preponderance over Kurrachee, in the despatch of goods into the Punjāb. The above table clearly shows that for sending produce out of that province, the merchants make much more use of the North-Western Railway than they do of the routes to the Presidency Cities, and that the exports viâ Bombay are indeed declining; and dealers would equally avail themselves of the direct line for importing their goods if Kurrachee could supply them. But as I have already pointed out Kurrachee is not a market, but only an agency, and if the necessary goods are not in stock, the Punjabees are obliged to go to other places which can, at once, fulfil their requirements. The case as regards the trade with Afghanistan and Beluchistan would appear to be very similar. The imports from those countries into Kurrachee (that is to say, *their* productions) are increasing annually; but the exports to them, especially in the matter of European cotton piece goods, show a very considerable decline. The demand for such goods is not less than formerly, but it is evident that they are obtained from some other source than Kurrachee.

It has been previously mentioned that Rapeseed, which is an important factor in the trade of the port, had in 1885-86 been much more largely exported towards Bombay than towards Sind, owing to the facilities offered by the Rewari-Ferozepore Railway; but it appears that in 1887-88 the former city lost its hold on the Punjab for the supply of this produce, and only received one-fourth of the quantity sent through Kurrachee.

Til or Gingelly, an oil-seed, is another great factor of the trade, and is exported very largely to France.

The export of these seeds for five years and nine months ending on the 31st December 1888 were as follows:—

Rapeseed.			Gingelly.		
1883-84	cwts.	11,49,647	1883-84	cwts.	5,61,471
1884-85	,,	12,60,204	1884-85	,,	6,79,056
1885-86	,,	6,96,090	1885-86	,,	4,07,428
1886-87	,,	6,15,113	1886-87	,,	3,43,599
1887-88	,,	6,41,871	1887-88	,,	8,17,668
9 months of 1888	,,	5,84,013	9 months of 1888	,,	2,85,477

The export of Wool, raw, reached its highest figure in 1887-88, with

this further advantage that instead of being shipped to Bombay, as was formerly the case, it is now chiefly exported direct to foreign ports.

The following figures show the value of this portion of the trade during the last five years :—

	To Europe.	To Bombay.
1883-84	Rs. 26,98,446	Rs. 25,99,711
1884-85	,, 32,10,432	,, 22,60,227
1885-86	,, 43,26,008	,, 17,31,331
1886-87	,, 50,83,685	,, 9,15,420
1887-88	,, 65,57,517	,, 5,96,765
9 months of 1888	,, 49,72,477	,, 6,69,991

It will be remembered that at the time of the British occupation of Kurrachee, the existence of several Tanpits, which emitted very unpleasant odours, was mentioned by an officer who accompanied the expedition ; but it does not appear that the branch of trade for which they were employed has progressed satisfactorily, for the export of raw hides to Bombay is very large, as it has been found impossible to tan in Kurrachee and produce a leather equal in quality, to that of the former city.

The greater part of the raw cotton produced in Sind is shipped to Indian ports, and chiefly to Bombay. It is there used for mixing purposes, and employed in the improvement of a product of very inferior quality. This is an evil, as stated by the Chamber of Commerce, which must work its own cure in time, as Spinners at home come to discover the imposition which is being practised.

The following statement shows a progressive increase in the export of this product :—

1884-85	cwts.	165,945	value Rs. 3,720,966
1885-86	,,	195,393	,, 4,635,439
1886-87	,,	265,688	,, 6,291,762
1887-88	,,	379,756	,, 9,352,034
9 months of 1888	,,	141,163	,, 3,704,732

During the four years, 1884-88, the direct annual shipments to the United Kingdom have averaged cwts. 44,000, while during the same period the shipments to Bombay give an average of cwts. 128,690 per annum. Eventually this also comes to Europe, but in a disguised form, and charged with the unnecessary freight between Kurrachee and Bombay.

In the importation of foreign merchandise the different manufactures of cotton, such as grey and white piece goods, and coloured,

printed or dyed materials take the first place, almost the whole being supplied by the United Kingdom, and the total value amounting for the year 1888 to Rs. 9,512,959; metals make a fair show during the same period, as 89,329 tons of iron, and 52,454 tons of steel were shipped from home, and the total value of all metals imported was Rs. 2,128,467. This is run very close by the "drink" bill, which amounted to Rs. 1,909,000 in the same year. Of ale, beer, and porter, Kurrachee took 103,439 gallons, of claret 12,241, and of champagne 5,358 gallons Although the consumption of whiskey has materially increased in India during the last few years, that of brandy does not appear to have diminished, for while of the former 49,514 gallons were landed at Kurrachee, 53,000 gallons of the latter were also sent, together with about 12,000 gallons of other spirits. It is to be hoped that all this alcoholic liquid does not remain in the town, but that the greater part merely passes through, and is dispersed over northern and western India, otherwise the consumption of the population would amount to about two and a half gallons per head instead of 1·2 as it is at home.

Notwithstanding the complaints of the merchants of Kurrachee that they have no daily postal communication with Bombay, yet very great facilities for trade are afforded both by the Postal and Telegraphic Administrations in India, and I greatly question whether these services can be surpassed in any part of the world, considering the enormous distances that have to be traversed, in many districts on foot, and the bad roads that still exist. The "Deferred Message" system, by telegraph, is a most convenient one, and by no means expensive. The messages are despatched at reduced rates after the wires have been cleared of the ordinary work, and are delivered the following morning by the early post, no matter how great the distance may be. For instance, letters sent from Kurrachee to Lahore or Delhi would take 45 and 66 hours respectively before reaching their destinations, but a deferred message, at a cost of eight annas for eight words, exclusive of the address, which in all cases is transmitted free, will be delivered on the morning after its despatch on the previous night.

The rules relating to remittances by telegraphic money orders are much broader in India than at home. In Great Britain the system is on so confined a scale, that many people are ignorant of the fact that they can remit by telegraph, between several of our largest cities and towns, sums not exceeding £10; but in India this method of transmitting money is largely employed, and is extended to amounts of

rupees 600 or £40 in sterling. The charge in England is at the rate of ten per cent., while in India it only slightly exceeds one per cent., and no additional charge is levied for the telegram advising the remittance.

I have already mentioned that one of the claims that Kurrachee has upon our attention is that the first telegraphic message between India and England was transmitted from that City. I referred to a telegram received in London on the 1st March, 1865, on the opening of the Indo-European telegraphic system, and this certainly was the first "through" message ever despatched, but I am not sure that there may not have been *sectional* communication prior to that date; for just before the outbreak of the Mutiny a contract was made to continue the line that then existed across Egypt, from Suez, to Aden and Kurrachee, and a cable was laid down; but it failed to perform its functions, and no message ever passed through its entire length at any one time.

To the late Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Stewart, C.B., of the Bengal Engineers, who died at Constantinople on the 16th January, 1865, just before the connection was effected, the honour of having joined together by wire the Mother Country and the Indian Empire is due, and to his memory a window has been erected in the Stewart Library at Kurrachee. It was recently stated in the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay that seven-eighths of the orders in India for imports and exports are transmitted by telegraph; and some idea of the mass of correspondence that has to be dealt with in that country, on the arrival of the mail, may be formed from an announcement of the London General Post-Office that on the 23rd December, 1887, for the first time on record, the pressure was so great that the Indian mails had to be conveyed to Dover by special train, and from thence dispatched to the Continent by special steamer.

From some experience of isolated districts in India, and from information that has been given to me by Collectors, and other officials whose duties lead them to visit very remote spots, I am strongly of opinion, that our import trade could be greatly extended by the introduction of samples by the parcel-post. There are villages scattered over the country, in the bāzārs of which a considerable local traffic is carried on, but in which there will not be found one single article of foreign extraction. Yet when some trifle of European manufacture is presented to their eyes, the villagers jump at it, and eagerly inquire its cost, and how they could obtain similar commodities.

I am by no means certain that a *new* trade would be opened up; I am inclined to think that there would simply be, in many outlying districts, the revival of an *old* trade, on a greatly extended system, in this wise:—Before the introduction of railways, native commercial travellers and bagmen visited all parts of the country indiscriminately; wherever they had any hope of finding a market, there they sought it; but now-a-days their circuits are confined to the railway routes. On these have sprung up large trading towns where formerly existed a cluster of huts; but in the interior important places have declined, because the result of the construction of a railway has been not only to attract the bulk of the commerce to its neighbourhood, but it has also caused the cessation of the former means of communication, namely by caravans which traversed the country in all directions.

If some aspiring merchant would try the advertising of his useful but cheap goods by sending small samples, say to the post-offices, of which there is certain to be one, even in the most remote corner of India, I believe that he could get an immediate return for his outlay, and that before long he could find it necessary to send his representatives to place his business on a sounder basis. My idea is that the natives in many parts are totally ignorant of the use and value of numberless articles that are manufactured in Manchester and Birmingham, and that find a ready sale amongst people of much less discernment and ability, but who are more easily reached; and that the mere exposure of such articles to their view in the native post-office or bāzār would at once create a demand, small at the commencement, but steadily increasing; and it must be remembered that "every mickle makes a muckle."

CHAPTER XIV.

KURRACHEE.—FUTURE.

I IMAGINE that a Book-maker; I do not refer to the recorders of betting transactions, so well known on our race-courses, who according to general report, are sometimes at the summit of wealth, and at others in the depths of poverty; nor to those authors, whose names upon a title-page are of themselves sufficient to create a demand for, and to effect a sale of, any work that they may offer to the public. I am speaking rather of a class of men who probably have but little experience in the art of writing, but who have become possessed of an *idea*, and I imagine that a writer of this class would in the first instance give a title to the book in which he proposed to elucidate his views, and would then work up to that title.

With more practical acquaintance of the art of book-making, he would have avoided this error, and would defer the naming of his child until the very last moment, and it has been ingeniously depicted by one great English author, how in conclave, the whole family of an imaginary neophyte discussed the name of a work, a portion of which had been read to the domestic circle, and bestowed upon it the simple title of "My Novel."

My own case is lamentable. Without meditating any rashness, or intending to perpetrate any solecism, I have unfortunately placed myself in a position from which I cannot escape, as a novelist might do, by killing off or marrying the creations of his fancy. I must go beyond that; I must try to predict their after life.

Kurrachee, *past*, is a study; Kurrachee, *present*, is a compilation founded on reports of current events, and on personal experience; but Kurrachee, *future*, is a prognostication, a foreshadowing of what is to be.

To depict the physical changes that must take place in its surroundings in the course of a few years, does not require

any great stretch of the imagination. Instances of the reclamation of lands from water; of the conversion of swamps and fens into solid ground; and of the springing up of towns and villages on the spaces so recovered are numerous; and I call to mind one such instance of modern date, and of interest to Londoners. Many people who are now only middle-aged, must remember on their annual excursion to Greenwich or to Blackwall, in the good old days when white-bait would not come to them, but they had to go to *it*, passing a long flat stretch of bare and uncultivated land, which was pointed out to them as the "Isle of Dogs." It was nothing but the Poplar Marshes protected from the encroachments of the river by an embankment, and crossed and re-crossed with dikes and channels, to preserve a portion of it sufficiently dry to allow of the growth of herbage that afforded scant maintenance to the half wild cattle and shaggy ponies, that were brought by steamers from Scotland and the Continent, and landed at Blackwall, for the London markets. There were a few stunted willow trees, but scarcely a habitation except at the Northern extremity where the West India Docks are situated. For half a century after these were opened in 1802, the Isle of Dogs remained in the same condition, and it was not until 1857 when the "Great Eastern," or as she was at first called, the "Leviathan" steamship, was built in the Yard of Messrs. Scott Russell & Co., that any attention was attracted to the place, or that any improvements were effected. Docks and dock extensions still occupy a considerable portion of the area, but all around the river frontage are roads and streets and wharves and factories, and down the centre of the island runs a railway.

The very name seems to have been dropped, and in its stead one hears of Millwall or Cubitt Town, but these places are not without interest to the engineering and railway world of India and even to the travelling public, for in them and especially in the latter, as has been already mentioned, have been constructed several of the magnificent bridges that span the broad rivers of the Empire, and among them that across the Indus at Sukkur, which has been recently opened for traffic.

The area between the main-land at Kurrachee and the Island of Kiamāri, called the "Chinna Creek Backwater" or the "Mangrove Swamp," an area now completely encircled by the two branches of the North Western Railway, is about twice the size of the Isle of Dogs and measures two miles from North to South, and two and a half from East to West. One connecting road—the Napier Mole—has been in existence

for years; a second, was projected, that of the Railway crossing the middle of the Swamp, but was abandoned, not on account of any difficulty in its construction, but because another route was considered more suitable, viz., that from Frere Street Station crossing the mouth of the Chinna Creek; a third, the Railway parallel to the Mole has been made quite recently, and in addition to those solid causeways, there are several promontories, or tongues, jutting out on the North of the Swamp, on which good roadways have been formed, as for instance those leading to the Chinna Creek, and especially "Scandal Point Road," the termination of which is the "Rifle Butts."

If these roads can be constructed over the Backwater without difficulty, there appears to be no reason why others should not also be made, and it would then seem to follow that the spaces between such roads, at no great distance from one another, may be filled in, and hence we shall get a solid foundation, on which to extend a suburb of Kurrachee whenever the demands of commerce, and of increasing population may require new outlets.

A prediction as to the physical changes that will take place in the course of a few years may therefore be risked, but when we search for the causes that will produce those changes, and for the results that will follow, we enter on the dangerous field of prophecy. The work of reclaiming the Backwater does not appear to offer any obstacles from an engineering point of view and is simply a matter of time, of necessity and of money; whenever the necessity arises, we may rest assured that the requisite capital will not be wanting, for the municipal revenue would be largely increased by the addition of a valuable area of land for building, most favourably situated as regards the port, and the outlay would be speedily recouped. But it would evidently be unadvisable to incur any expense on a work of considerable magnitude, until clear proof should be given that the demand for it actually existed, and such proof will only be forthcoming when it is demonstrated that the existing island at Kiamāri is not sufficiently large to meet the requirements of the shipping trade. It has been mentioned that after epochs of great commercial success, on more than one occasion there has been a sudden decline in trade; it would not do therefore to commence a great undertaking because of a temporary revival, but it must be satisfactorily shewn that the commerce of the port is established on a firm and permanent basis; that the increased number of vessels entering and leaving the harbour, and the consequent demand for more

warehouse-room, and for more warehousemen, and other labourers, and for the people required for a large shipping business, for whom habitations must be found, is not impulsive and spasmodic, but stable and regular; that, in fact, there must be a continuous business carried on in the port, requiring the attendance, by day and by night, of bodies of men for loading and discharging cargoes, whose homes must be in the immediate neighbourhood of their work; instead of a fitful traffic, such as the entrance of several vessels in one week, and of only one in the following, all the requirements of which could be met by sending down by Railway or Tramway a number of hands from the town itself.

When such a trade is established then the necessity for increased accommodation will have been proved, and then will have arrived the proper moment, for doubling or trebling the area of solid ground at Kiamāri.

In the "future" of Kurrachee, these changes in the aspect of the land, and in the commerce of the port are most prominent features, and as I have compromised myself by the unfortunate title of this work to foretell that future, so I must now endeavour to show how they will be produced. I confess that I am shirking the duty, and postponing its fulfilment so long as possible, and even now when the difficulty must be encountered, or the chapter must be abruptly closed, I will pray my Readers to grant me a small indulgence.

Instead of keeping me to the strict letter of my word, and compelling me to prophesy, let them take the trouble of accompanying me to the summit of the tall square tower of the English Church, and of using their eyes to take in the panorama that surrounds them, and of lending me their ears, while I endeavour to point out the changes that have been made, and the causes that brought them about.

The ascent is more difficult, than at the Panorama of "Niagara," the view cannot boast of the beauty and majesty of that scene; the expounder's elocution is halting and his descriptive powers very weak, and indeed the opinion is freely expressed, that the Exhibition is not worth the entrance fee, but now that you have mounted so many steps, rest against the parapet and listen!

"The permanent position of Kurrachee as one of the first ports of the English dominions in Asia, dates from the completion of the cross-country railway between Delhi and the Indus. Secretaries, and Under Secretaries of State had been for a long time preaching to the British Public the great advantages that India offered as a field for the invest-

ment of their spare cash, but that Public would not *rise*, for the sprat that is so necessary to catch a mackerel was never cast into the sea ; and Viceroys and Public Works Departments were constantly emphasizing the fact that they did not possess the means for furnishing the very simplest bait.

But bread-stuffs form one of the greatest needs of Europe and especially of England, and India can produce them. The great Manufacturing districts required cotton and wool, and India can supply them, and not only supply them, but do so at a cheaper rate than other foreign markets, if only the producing districts be brought into communication over the shortest possible mileage, with the sea-ports that are their natural outlets. The great shipping port had been for many years Bombay, but it was far from being the natural outlet of the wheat and grain and pulse growing districts, and when public attention was aroused, and an appeal was made to common sense, then it very quickly appeared that the districts referred to could be brought 160 miles nearer to a sea-port than they actually were, and that the produce grown in them could be laid down in Europe at a reduction of about 1s. per quarter.

Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow,—London with its frequent strikes, and consequent shipping difficulties, was losing its influence as a Port—fully appreciated the advantages that would be conferred on their markets by the construction of a direct railway between the nearest point on the Indian sea-coast, and the districts that could supply them. They brought their influence to bear, and the Government of India forced to admit that the line was practicable, that it was of strategical importance, and that it would benefit Imperial interests, at length consented to give an annual *pea*, in the shape of a small guarantee for a fixed number of years, in exchange for the immediate present of a *bean*.

The offer was accepted;—there were many people, speculative enough to prefer a guaranteed three per cent. Railway Stock, with a prospect of increasing interest, to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Consols, with the certainty of a reduction, and in spite of the fierce opposition of Bombay, and the vehement invectives of the Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Directorate, the necessary capital was subscribed, and the Desert line was made.

To it is due the vast changes that you see around you. Let us turn seawards! Between the lofty tower on which we are now standing and the harbour of Kiamāri, but a few years ago, there was nothing to

obstruct your view, nothing to attract your attention, except the narrow causeway bearing the name of Napier, that bounded the western side of the Mangrove Swamp, along which you would have discerned a string of camels creeping slowly on their way, and a few bullock carts loaded with what little merchandise had been disembarked on the island. But where now is the necessity of a Causeway, where indeed is the Causeway itself? Stay! with your glasses you can see the Obelisk, that marks the spot from which the Conqueror of Sind took his departure upwards of 40 years ago, not standing isolated among the Cotton Presses, but in the centre of wharves and warehouses and shipping, for there is one long line of masts and funnels stretching from the Merewether Pier at Kiamāri to the spot where the native Jetty formerly stood. Here and there you will catch a glimpse of a white streak between the wharves on one side, and a row of houses on the other. That is the Napier Road, no longer a hand-railed mole, but a compact highway lined on one side with shipping offices, and with the shops of ship chandlers, sail makers, and the like who congregate around a busy port, forming the connecting link between Kurrachee and its suburban district of Kiamāri.

It is in fact the realization of the prediction of Sir Charles, that an entirely new town would be created on the island. The Chinna Creek —in old days the only means by which the larger native boats could approach the town—still winds its way round what was formerly a swamp, but it is now a fashionable resort for boating parties, who can venture there without any risk of rheumatism or malaria, for an efficient system of drainage has been established, and the stream is clear and limpid.

Immediately below us lies Kurrachee. Note the changes that have taken place here! No longer straggling and disjointed, it is compact and closely built over. True, there are open spaces, the sites of the Public Gardens, green and picturesque, thanks to the water-works; but the Bandar, the Lawrence, the McLeod, and other roads are now long streets of houses; and looking northwards you will see the lines of bungalows stretching towards the hills, for trade and business have seized upon every vacant spot in the old Municipal area, and have driven 'the fashion' to seek a new and outside quarter."

Such, in my belief, will be the physical effect, that the completion of the Desert line will have upon Kurrachee; the grain produce of north and north-western India will be directed to the nearest port, and at

that port vessels in abundance will be found for its transshipment, but such vessels cannot afford to go out in ballast, and must take a paying freight. Thence will arise the necessity of making Kurrachee a *market* instead of an *agency*, and of placing it in a position to supply those foreign goods which will be required in exchange for the home products, that are now being requisitioned through Calcutta and Bombay.

It does not follow that these great cities, and the railways that connect them with the old Moghul capital, will suffer any permanent detriment or loss:—a similar idea existed in Calcutta when it was proposed to bring Bombay into direct communication with Eastern India, but experience has shown that while the latter port has made enormous progress, the former has not retrograded. So it will be when the Port of Sind has her just claims recognized. Those districts which geographically belong to Bombay will export their produce, and will import their foreign goods through her, but she will have to resign an abnormal trade which geographically does not belong to her, and which can find a nearer and cheaper outlet through Kurrachee.

The remark of Sir Charles Dilke, that I have previously quoted, to the effect that Kurrachee "is a sufficiently good harbour to be thoroughly useful for military purposes," would seem to imply that as a trading port it is not of much value. To that implication I demur, but at the same time it must be remembered that Sir Charles only studied it from a military point of view, and that its future in connection with a lateral railway system, was never brought under his notice.

Still it may be well to give a little consideration to Kurrachee under its military aspect.

I will not venture to fix a date on which the events to which I am about to refer, are actually to fall, like the Great "Zadkiel," or like that prophet who so frequently warns us of our speedy dissolution on the first page of the "Evening Standard," but I may ask my Readers to follow me, as I endeavour briefly to describe those occurrences which may possibly ensue in regard to our Empire in India before the lapse of many years. But first, and before travelling to Asia, let us try to see that things are rendered safe in Europe. Gibraltar at one end of the Mediterranean is supposed to be in a complete state of defence, but the anchorage is never safe, and the place is totally unprovided with docking accommodation. There is even now a talk of supplying this defect, and let us hope that it is not mere talk. Cyprus at the other end possesses in Famagusta a good and secure harbour, but one that is absolutely un-

defended. In former days it was strongly fortified, and there appears to be no reason why it should not be made, a cover to, and an outwork of, the European terminus of the one, and only true railway route, viâ the Euphrates valley, to Kurrachee. But such an undertaking will occupy some years before its completion, and its construction must depend on the diplomatic procedure that may be adopted in relation to Southern Persia. On this connection which will so greatly reduce our distance from India, no dependence can be placed until a lengthened period has elapsed, and consequently we are reduced to the long-sea and the Canal routes. In the event of disturbances on the Western Frontier of India, to which I will confine my remarks, rapidity and dispatch in the concentration of troops would be of paramount importance, and these objects would be most easily attained by forwarding our army corps through the Suez Canal, and landing them at Kurrachee. But it is quite possible that the Canal route may not be available! We have experienced in times of peace occasional and accidental blocks, and it certainly is not improbable that in time of war, in spite of treaties and international agreements, obstructions may arise to prevent the free passage of our transports. It is pretty clear that we must run an iron-clad through the treaty, just as one drives a four-in-hand through an Act of Parliament, but when this is done, are we much better off? The southern extremity of the Red Sea will require watching as much as the northern artificial entrance to it, and there are factors established there, of recent date, which might be inimical to us. Perim, for instance, is an island admirably adapted, as a position for batteries, only just above the water-level, for the defence of the eastern outlet, but Perim is commanded by high ground which rises 200 yards above it, and which is in the possession of a foreign power.

Aden we have, and shall hold, as a fortified coaling station on our Eastern highway, and it is supposed to be of great value as commanding the Red Sea, but although the Black Bay has all the elements for the formation of a first-class harbour, it is still wanting in depth of water, and moreover the place would be unable to maintain for any length of time the supplies of a Squadron, and might have to defend itself against the attacks of foes from the interior, who could easily be driven into rebellion by unscrupulous agents.

But if the worst comes to the worst, if the use of the Canal be denied to us, through accidental causes, or through those which, on the plea of "all being fair in love and war," might be justified, still the value

of Kurrachee as the point of disembarkation of our troops would not be lessened. The sea-voyage would be prolonged by a few hours, but a great saving of time would be effected in the land journey from the Sind port to the scene of action, for no route from Bombay could compete with it. But where *is* the scene of action?

We may assume that when the present ruler of Afghanistan, in the course of nature, or for other causes, ceases to reign, the history of that country as an independent state will terminate. It is not to be supposed that the Berduranis, the Ghiljies, and the Kuzzilbashes will submit to foreign domination without striking a blow for freedom, but it does not follow that internal disturbances will create animosity between the two great powers who are co-terminous with the territory of the Amir. We may rest assured that the Russians on the northern frontier are fully prepared for such a contingency, and there is every reason to suppose that on our side there will never be a recurrence of those terrible events that happened in 1842, or even of the lesser massacre of 1879. Twice has the Khyber Pass been forced by British troops, and although the Afrīdīs and other mountainous tribes may still give trouble, yet there is no question that it would again be traversed, that Jellalabad would be occupied, and Cabul captured. Further south, the Bholan Pass has ceased to be a bug-bear—it has been simply turned—and Quettah is to-day a strong position for attack or defence. The Khojak tunnel, has been already bored, and a temporary line has been laid along it, while the railway has been constructed for some miles in advance of its western mouth, in the direction of the Fort of Chamman. The locomotives have been fitted with injectors of a special design so that petroleum can be used as fuel, and the supply of water has been largely increased—Kandahar is therefore within measurable distance of our present frontier.

The irregular figure which comprises the greater part of the territory of the Amīr, and which is called indifferently Kabūl or Afghanistan, is bisected diagonally N.E. to S.W. by the largest water-way of the whole country, known as the River Helmund. Its source is somewhere about Hindū Koosh, at 11,000 feet above the sea-level, and its course downwards is so extremely rapid that navigation upwards is impracticable. It is not by any means a good line of defence, for in many parts it is fordable, but it is throughout sufficiently well-defined to serve as a limit between the two great Powers, who are to succeed the Amīr of Afghanistan, in the possession of his territory.

It is quite possible to conceive, that with this frontier to determine our respective boundaries, we might live in amity for many years. The undisturbed possession of Herāt would perhaps tend to create ambitious views in the minds of our neighbours as to the reversion of a contingent kingdom, but that might ultimately be subdivided to our mutual satisfaction.

Meanwhile, we can imagine that friendly relations would be maintained between the outposts on either side of the Helmund. The Belochees have their "Malakhra," and display their dexterity in wrestling and other athletic sports; the Turcomāns return the compliment, and exhibit their wondrous feats of horsemanship; a racecourse is laid out, and hunting and shooting parties are the order of the day. We find our neighbours very good fellows, not highly polished, but thorough soldiers, and free and open-handed. They are hospitable in the extreme; they feast us, commencing with caviar and vodka, and continuing with unlimited champagne, which *we* dislike because it is *sweet* as sugar. They come across to our camp, and we offer them all our delicacies; sardines from Italy, tinned salmon from the Lakes, potted bloaters from Yarmouth, Bass's ale, and champagne in magnums, which last *they* find extremely distasteful, because it is too *dry*. And so we make the best of our frontier life, mindful always that we are the advanced guards of two great European nations.

Whence it arises we do not know, but we note that a coldness is growing up between us. Our hospitality is not less, but when it is offered, some sudden call of duty prevents its acceptance. Sometimes we exchange a few words, but the friendship that was so often sworn over the mess-table has disappeared; our salutations are polite and courteous, but they are simply civilities, and mean nothing. It is difficult to find a reason for this marked difference in their bearing towards us, for while we have been living opposite to one another, only separated by the flowing river, which has never been a barrier to our intercourse, there has not been a single dispute, nor the slightest cause for friction.

It is not in India that the problem can be solved. Travel back to Europe; institute a search in the petty courts of Sofia, of Belgrade, of Bucharest; and in one of them you will find—of course, in the person of a woman—the primary cause of the coldness that has arisen between brothers of the sword, on the banks of the Helmund.

But to speak of her simply as a *woman* is derogatory to her position;

she is certainly a Countess, probably a Princess, possibly a Queen ;—a highly cultivated and polished lady, a "grande dame de par le monde." Her office, for notwithstanding her exalted sphere she has duties to perform, is not one that commends itself to the feelings of the world in general. Her special line of life is somewhat similar to that of the leaders of a Trades Union, namely to create and foment discord and disagreement :—to let the world jog on in its own way would not suit either of the parties. It would not pay. To earn their living, the one must put *classes*, the other, *nations* at loggerheads. The efforts of the one bring about a strike, from which result poverty and misery to hundreds ; the acts of the other end in war, which carries ruin and loss of life to thousands. Both of them will defend their conduct with ability ; both of them will declare that their objects were high and lofty, but still we do not admire the wire-pullers whose action tends to the upsetting of trade, and to the wretchedness of our fellow-creatures.

She is not an adventuress, for her social conduct is irreproachable ;—she is married, but her husband is detained by his duties, at the Court of his master ;—she is well supplied with money for the comforts and luxuries of living, and is incapable of accepting a bribe ; and although she is "au fait" in all the arts of flattery, cajolery, and kindly sympathy, she never has a "grande passion." To every one who approaches her, she is polite and courteous, and she is peculiarly attentive to the junior members of the foreign Embassies and Legations. She is not a beauty, for her features follow no well-defined type ;—her forehead is rather low, *Caucasian* ;—her eyes, small and diamond-shaped, *Mongolian* ;—her nose, straight and thin, *Polish* ;—and her chin broad and stolid, *Austrian*. But she has all the elegance, and physical attributes of a Circassian, her hand and foot are perfect ;—her costumes fashionable and elaborate, and her manners charming. It is rather a bore to entertain the young secretaries but she does it with the greatest amiability ; she listens attentively to all the small talk of their own Courts, and of that at which they are residing ; she judiciously leads them on, and out of the abundance of chaff she winnows a few grains of corn worth preserving. Her perseverance is rewarded ; at length she is in a position to report (which she always does in cipher, for mystery and secrecy are the great attractions which have induced her to adopt her present *rôle*), that the political threads are now so entangled and complicated, that in order to unravel them, resource must be had to the weapon with which Alexander

severed the ingenious knot of Gordius in the hope of reigning over the whole of the Eastern World.

The "escadron volant" to which the lady belongs is reduced in strength, and possesses little of that influence, which attached to it, when the "hautes dames" of France, and Spain, and Italy were factors in the friendships and animosities of nations, but it has still found a refuge in the smaller States of Europe, where political artifice and chicanery take the place of diplomacy; and so this charming member of the "light company," whose object may be that of creating a *greater* Servia,—of upsetting the existing régime in Bulgaria,—or of driving the Turks out of Europe:—is able, by her winning ways, to cause dissensions between two great nations, and to drive the frontier forces on the Helmund to draw the sword in anger.

And now Reader! for the second and last time mount in my company the lofty turret of Trinity Church, and from its height look down upon Kiamāri and its surroundings, and note the changes that the wiliness of a woman has brought about.

"Vessels are lying at the mooring-buoys;—vessels crowd the inner harbour from the Merewether Pier to the Native Jetty, but you will remark that they are all of one colour,—white.

On a few is listlessly waving the "White Ensign,"—these are "Troopers"—but on the majority you will see flying the "Red Cross," and moreover you will notice that these latter are marked on bow and stern with a number so large, that with the aid of a glass, it is discernible from your position. They are transports. The greater part of our Garrison is already in the field;—the European Regiment, and the Beloochis whose bands enlivened our afternoon promenades in the quiet days of peace, have marched, and even the Sind Volunteers, the *McHinch-ka-pultan*, a Regiment that takes its name, after the old "Kumpani's" style, from that of its first Chief, has deserted us. But we have one band left, that of the Naval Volunteers formed in 1888 by Captain Price, R.N., Master Attendant of the Port, and they are unwearying in welcoming at the harbour, the arrival of their gallant companions in arms, who have come across the ocean to aid in the defence of the Empire.

The strains of "I'm '95" fall upon your ear, but you cannot tell whether a Battalion of the Rifle Brigade is about to disembark, a Company of Royal Engineers, or some other corps that marches to that same soul-stirring music, for to-day, dark-green and scarlet, and garter-blue, are all merged into the one sombre colour, "karkhi;"

and solar-topīs have taken the place of busbees and waving plumes. But from the decks of the transports comes the pibroch's reply; musical to many of those standing around, who hail from Scotland, and to others of a duskier hue,—invalids and men of the after-guard of the Belochees,—who one and all recognise the stirring sounds of the bag-pipes, common alike to the Highlands of Northern Britain and of Western India, and as "*Highland Laddie*" is wafted on the air, we know that the "Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders" have returned to the scene of their former glories. It ceases as the men reach the spot where the train awaits them on the splendid wharves, so recently completed, but the Volunteers are again called to attention, and "*Ap Shenkin*" tells us that the 23rd Foot, the "Royal Welsh Fusiliers" are landing, and then follows a stupendous burst of enthusiasm, a perfect *tumasha*, as the "Connaught Rangers" step on shore to the tune of "*St. Patrick's Day in the morning.*"

Every component nationality of Great Britain is represented by its very cream, as the pick of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh Infantry of the Line disembark at Kiamāri, and the rumour is current that contingents from the Colonies are on their way to support the phalanx from the Mother Country. Territorial designations puzzle me, or perhaps I might be able to add that the "Twenty-second," *who marched up within forty paces of an entrenchment at Meeanee, and then stormed it like British soldiers*, returned to defend the Province of Sind, in the conquest of which, fifty years ago, they so nobly aided, but I cannot bind myself to such a statement of fact, and must leave the question an open one to be decided by those better informed War-correspondents, who are certain to be present on the field of operations.

But of course we were late! The Opposition was badgering the Secretary of State for War, and endeavouring to elicit from him certain information as to the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief in India, apparently for the benefit of our opponents. The Press was wrangling over the exact interpretation of two lines in an Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and the Peace Society was preparing to send a Deputation to the Prime Minister. A message by cable from India to the effect that the Turcoman Cavalry had raided to our side of the Border, that the first blow had been struck,—that the first blood had been drawn,—fell like a thunderbolt, and the British Public at once commenced to act instead of to talk. But the first impression was somewhat ludicrous; the very mildest of us spoke about "the enemy taking unseemly advan-

tage," while the bolder declaimed about *unfairness*, and the noisiest inferred *treachery*. The old story of one school-girl scoring with her battledore and shuttlecock, and her companion immediately exclaiming, "That isn't fair, and I won't play any more!"

With our opponents it was different; they never discussed the chances of deferring, or avoiding the impending struggle; but they went on quietly with their preparations. They had one Master, and on his will, entirely depended the course that was to be taken. Perhaps his lieutenants in distant Asia slightly forestalled his wishes, and commenced skirmishing on the Helmund before he had actually given the signal, but their action was not repudiated, and so the die was cast.

In British India the blow had not fallen unexpectedly. Quettah was strongly fortified, and Candahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzie, Ghuznee—*the scene of treachery, mutilation, torture, starvation, and cruel murder to our unresisting countrymen**—and Kabool were well garrisoned; still some time elapsed before our forces were massed on the frontier. The Commander-in-Chief at Peshawur metaphorically raised his solar-topī, and from the most distant corners of the Empire,

> "Rushing, ten thousand horsemen came,
> With spears in rest, and hearts on flame,
> That panted for the shock!"

—a magnificent spectacle, as the Cavalry of India sweeps onwards;—the chargers in prime condition, and their riders in workmanlike, yet gorgeous apparel, for with true Oriental luxury in brilliant and variegated colouring, their turbans and tunics are of manifold hues:—the light grey of the Lancers of Madras forms a pleasing contrast to the dark green of the Bombay troopers, and both alternate picturesquely with the uniforms in scarlet, blue, yellow, or drab of the squadrons of Bengal. From North, South and East, they hastened towards the West:—Sikhs, Punjabees, Ghoorkhas, Bheels and Belochees, all of them, not half a century ago, our inveterate foes, but now embodied in gallant regiments of cavalry and infantry—proud to serve under British colours.

Many of them are again revisiting the scenes of former deeds of daring; the third Bombay Light Cavalry, were in Cabool in 1842; the fourth Bengal who display the honorary standard conferred upon them in 1844, for their distinguished services in Sind, took part in the cam-

* Letter from General Nott, April 4th, 1843.

paign of 1879-80, as did also the 1st Madras Lancers; and here too are Regiments that call to our recollection other stirring times in the history of India, *Cureton's Mooltanee Cavalry*, of the days of the Mutiny: and *Fane's Horse*, of China renown: the *Jacob-ka-risāla*, who won their fame on the borders of the Indus under the gallant chief, whose bones are lying in the frontier town that bears his name; and the 5th Bombay, the old *Sind Irregulars*, whose gallant charge decided the battle of Meanee.

The Native Princes also send their contingents, drilled and disciplined by English officers, but displaying in the richness of their appointments, and the beauty of their arms, a taste for Oriental splendour. With *tulwar* loose, and pennon flying, and with the light of battle in their eyes, they press onward towards the spot where the armies of two great nations are to meet in deadly combat, and where is to be irrevocably decided, the supremacy of one or other Empire, as the paramount Chief of the land of their birth.

Our opponents were quite ready; among them there was no Peace Society to raise obstacles, and there was no fear of hurting any one's susceptibilities. Troops and stores had been collected for many months, and when once the order had been received there was nothing to delay the attack.

Their wild Irregular Cavalry dashed across the river, and harried the country up to the line of Railway; rumours soon reached us of skirmishes, and cavalry brushes; and then more serious tidings followed,—that Kandahar was invested;—that the enemy was in force on the Plains of Pishīn;—that Quettah was threatened;—and before long those who were still residing in Kurrachee, had good reasons to know that to

> "The triumph and the vanity,
> The rapture of the Strife—"

there is another side bitterly sad, and sorrowful;—for every train brought down its cargo of invalids and wounded, incapacitated for longer service at the Front, through the effects of disease, or of injuries inflicted by the guns, the cold-steel, and the bullets of the invaders.

Every bungalow was turned into a hospital, every woman became a nurse, and the Native ladies, vied with their European Sisters in their endeavours to afford aid and succour to their suffering countrymen. At home every one's thoughts were centered on the Port of Sind, to

which the Viceroy had removed the seat of Government, in order to be nearer to the scene of military operations, and the name of *Kurrachee* was on every lip. Many of us could remember the anxious waiting for weeks, before the era of telegraphs, for tidings of "how goes the day," when our fathers and husbands, and brothers were battling on the Sutlej, or struggling to maintain British domination during the Rebellion; but it seemed almost worse now, when every daily incident was sent to us by cable. We trembled and hesitated before opening the daily journal, but yet we rushed out to buy the second and third editions of *evening* papers, that the newsvendors were hawking about the streets before 10 o'clock in the *morning*.

In Kurrachee we were better off in some respects than our friends at home. The sick and wounded had to be cared for, and we heard from those who were able to converse, detailed accounts of the stirring events in which many of them had taken a prominent part. We had too our own little incidents!

One day an enemy's Squadron appeared off our Port. As our communications with the Commanding Officer were anything but of a friendly nature, I am unable to state with precision whence it came, but probably from a considerable distance, for the fuel supply was petroleum, nor can I account for its escaping our own ships, but such events, when least expected, *do* occur in time of war. There it was, and for two days and nights, not a soul closed an eye on Manora Point. Then on the third morning, with everything cleared and ready for action, it came in closer, and with the dauntless pluck of a *Charles Beresford* the officer in charge of a gallant foreign *Condor* steamed in under the Promontory, and engaged the Batteries. Here was afforded that opportunity for testing the effects of a high elevation of the guns of a naval force, and of a depression of those of the batteries, which had been denied us when the fleet under the command of Sir Frederick Maitland captured the place in 1839, but unfortunately for the interests of science, we were again defrauded of the means of deciding this delicate point.

The defences of Manora have been completely changed since the withdrawal of the Amirs of Sind, and instead of one little Mud Fort, batteries, above and below, bristle everywhere. I will leave to future historians the duty of relating the events that occurred during this, the third appearance of an hostile fleet (including that of Nearchus), before Kurrachee, and will content myself with the statement that the Battery

of Artillery and the Local Brigade of Indian Naval Volunteers, who formed the garrison, played their part manfully, and that Manora did *not* surrender without firing a shot.

At length the dawn began to break, shedding rays of peace, and holding out prospects of calmer and happier days. CLEAR THE LINE, was the imperative opening of the telegram, but there was neither bombast nor bluster in the body of the message. "CLEAR THE LINE. DECISIVE ACTION ON THE HELMUND. THE ENEMY IN RETREAT." Those were the words that it contained, words that might have been dictated by a Wellington, a Napier of Sind, or Magdala, or by a Roberts; no loud pæan of victory, but yet an announcement of momentous interest to the world in general, and of paramount importance to millions of our fellow countrymen.

The Medical Staff as they went their rounds next morning through the hospitals and bungalows, noticed a great change among the sick and wounded; there was a gleam of hope in every eye, as though nature, during the weary watches of the night, had momentarily relieved them of their pains, and granted them a quiet peaceful slumber, in which were conjured up visions of home, and of the loving but anxious faces of wives and children and sweethearts. "Amputations" looked more healthy, "gun shots" were more promising, and the very breath of the Nursing Sisters, as they glided quietly and smilingly between the beds of the sufferers, was a prayer of thanksgiving to the "God of Battles."

I have now fulfilled, to the best of my ability, the conditions of the compromise, into which I entered, to exhibit a Panorama of Kurrachee, as in time to come it may be, limned not with the pencil of prophecy, but with the broader brush of the scene-painter, touching up and improving old stage properties. If the spectators have been interested up to this point, then I may trust that on leaving the Show, they will carry away with them some permanent recollections of the City and Port, whose Past, Present, and Future I have endeavoured to depict. The value of Kurrachee as a Military basis has been recognised by many of the highest authorities, from Sir Charles Napier who knew it fifty years ago, to Sir Charles Dilke, Lord Brassey, and *Lady* Dufferin, who visited it recently. Its importance as a great Commercial Mart, depends mainly on a direct line of communication with Eastern and Upper India, the construction of which I have advocated, not in the interest of Kurrachee alone, but as the means of increasing the trade and commerce between Great Britain and her Empire in

Asia;—of adding largely to the food supplies for home use;—of affording greater facilities for the defence of our Possessions;—of minimizing the chronic state of scarcity or famine, to which thousands of our fellow beings in Rajputana are constantly subjected, and of shedding upon them some rays of that prosperity which our own land has so long enjoyed, to relieve their misery and to brighten their existence.

If I have erred, in painting in too glowing colours, the result of an imaginary struggle on the Helmund, some allowance should be made for my ignorance of the art of writing fiction; and for the hesitation that any one but a Master-hand must feel, in attempting to conclude his narrative with a disaster. But is there any reason for inferring that a disaster will occur?

Turn back to the pages of history that tell the story of the Sutlej campaign;—read again the dispatches of Sir Harry Smith; of Gough; of Hardinge; which recite not only the gallantry of the British and Native Troops at Moodkee, Aliwal, Ferozeshuhur, and Sobraon, but also the conspicuous valour and determined resistance of our opponents at those memorable battles. Their bravery never faltered;—their cavalry met ours hand to hand;—and their infantry, on one occasion, threw away the musket, and came on with sword and target against the lances of Her Majesty's Sixteenth. They had the advantage in numbers of men and of guns; but their discipline was inferior, their artillery badly served, and their leaders incapable; yet they nearly snatched a victory from us, and the death-rolls of those hard-fought fields still record the terrible losses they inflicted!—And then consider how all is changed;—the constitution of the Indian Army has certainly not deteriorated since the conquest of the Punjab; and, to it we now add, from that very nation of warriors who, fifty years ago, challenged our supremacy on the Sutlej, Regiments of Sikhs, of soldiers superior in physical power to the natives of all other parts of India, trained, disciplined, and commanded by British officers, and yet retaining the intensity of bigotry and religious zeal that induced them to put forward a claim to be the chosen people of God, and that still render them fearless of death.

L'Union fait la force, and with Englishmen and Sikhs, shoulder to shoulder, instead of foot to foot;—with all the military resources of India concentrated under one banner;—with our armies led by experienced officers, accustomed to the command of Native troops;—there

is no reason to regard from a pessimistic point of view the consequences of any foreign aggression upon our Frontier.

There is one defect in our present military system, to which a remedy should be promptly applied—the want, not of experienced Army Commanders, but of British Subalterns in sufficient numbers, possessing the requisite aptitudes and qualifications for leading successfully, in and out of action, the *units* of a fighting force, viz., a company of infantry, or a squadron of cavalry. It is not a question of personal courage, nor even of discipline, but it resolves itself into one of "touch," of *rapprochement*, between the sepoy, and the young officer of alien birth, who, by force of circumstances, is placed in command. In the excitement of a charge—on the flowing tide of victory—they will follow where he may lead; but it will depend upon his personal and individual influence over them, and upon their trust and confidence in him, whether they will rally at the sound of his voice in the moment of a reverse, or of temporary confusion. Our present system is not conducive to the attainment of such influence on the one side, nor to the growth of absolute faith and reliance on the other.

In the days of the Grand Old Company, the cadet appointed to a native corps joined his regiment with the full knowledge that it was to be his home for the greater part of his life; and he was naturally animated with a warm interest in its traditions and past history, and in its present administration and management, both military and domestic. He was *one* of two or three subalterns attached to a company, who had ample opportunity for studying the character and habits of the soldiers under their control, and for becoming acquainted with their language and customs. At the present time, two or three companies are frequently attached to one subaltern, who is styled a wing officer. He has had his early training in a Queen's regiment with British troops, undoubtedly to his great advantage, but he joins a native corps not to make it his home, but simply as a stepping-stone to some better appointment with which the Staff Corps may provide him. His knowledge of the ways and manners of the men whom he is to command is exceedingly limited, and his work and responsibilities are so much heavier than those of his predecessor, that his opportunities for winning their esteem and respect are very greatly reduced. There are many officers of the old *régime* who maintain to this day that the origin of the terrible events of 1857 may be traced back to this loss of "touch" between the English subaltern and the sepoy; and they are cynical enough to

add that the new habits, new customs, and higher cultivation introduced into India, through the influx of bevies of the fair daughters of Albion, that had taken place a few years previously, all tended to alienate the affection and attachment of the native troops from their foreign leaders. No heed should be given to the morose tenets of old bachelors who, after a life-time in the East, air their grumbling in the Clubs of London, of Bath, and of Cheltenham, but the question is well deserving of consideration whether some form of regimental combination, that would link together more closely, and more permanently, the native troops and their British Officers, should not be substituted for the old system so ruthlessly swept away?

"But, come! Let us be moving towards the harbour!—The Packet is already flying the Bluepeter at the fore, and there, in the distance you can see the train racing in with the mails from the North and West of India, from Cashmere, and Cabul, Candahar and Quettah! In another hour will follow the "Dufferin Express," that has traversed the Rajputāna Desert from Delhi to the banks of the Indus, and so soon as the passengers and mails are embarked, we shall start on our homeward journey. The name, it will be allowed, is a well-conceived compliment connecting as it does, the Daily Mail of the Delhi-Kotri Railway with the title of the great Viceroy, during whose administration this important link between the East and West of India, was first projected."

"You will yet be the glory of the East; would that I could come again to see you, Kurrachee, in your grandeur!" were the parting words of the rough old warrior, the Conqueror of Sind, when nearly half a century ago, he took his departure from the Port, into which he was the first to instil vitality; and the same wish lingers upon our lips, as the Ensign is hoisted, for the last time, in reply to the signal from Manora Fort, bidding Godspeed to the Homeward-bound.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

NAMES OF THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATORS OF THE PROVINCE OF SIND, SINCE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

Lieut-General Sir Charles James Napier, G.C.B.	...	Governor ...	1843-1847
The Province of Sind made subject to the Government of the Bombay Presidency.			
Robert Keith Pringle, Bo.C.S.	...	Commissioner ...	1847-1850
Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Bart., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (afterwards Governor of Bombay)	...	Commissioner ...	1851-1859
General John Jacob	...	Acting ...	1856-1857
Jonathan Duncan Inverarity, Bo.C.S.	...	Commissioner ...	1859-1862
During Mr. Inverarity's Administration, the powers of a Lieutenant Governor were conferred upon the Commissioners.			
Samuel Mansfield, C.S.I., Bo.C.S.	...	Commissioner ...	1862-1867
Major General Sir William Lockyer Merewether, K.C.S.I., C.B.	...	Commissioner ...	1867-1877
William Henry Havelock, Bo.C.S. (during General Merewether's absence in Abyssinia)	...	Acting & pro tem. ...	1867-1868
Francis Dawes Melvill, Bo.C.S.	...	Acting ...	1877-1878
Sir James Braithwaite Peile, K.C.S.I., Bo.C.S.	...	Acting ...	1878-1879
Henry Napier Bruce Erskine, C.S.I., Bo.C.S.	...	Acting June...	1879
		Commissioner Oct....	1882-1887
Charles Bradley Pritchard, C.S.I., Bo.C.S.	...	Acting April....	1887
		Commissioner Aug....	1888
Arthur Charles Trevor, Bo.C.S.	...	Acting May...	1889

GLOSSARY.

AMIL.—Arabic, *'āmil*: an intendant; or collector of revenues; now generally applied to a government or mercantile clerk.

AMIR.—Arabic: a commander; lord; nobleman.

ANNA.—Hind. *ana*: the 16th part of a Rupee.

ANGARKHA.—Sanskrit: a long coat; a doublet.

ARGHUN.—A Dynasty of Sind (A.D. 1521-1554).

'ATR.—Arabic: ottar of roses; perfume; fragrance.

AYA.—Portuguese, *aia*: a nurse; attendant on a lady.

BADGIR.—Persian, *bad-gir*: "wind-catch;" ventilators on the roof, made of wattles.

BAHADUR—Hind.: brave, bold; a hero, a champion; a title bestowed upon deserving Hindūs; as an affix to the name of a gallant native soldier, it corresponds to D.S.O. (Distinguished Service Order).

BAJRI—Hind., *bājrī*: a tall millet.

BANDAR.—Persian: a landing place; sea-port; harbour; town on the coast or shore of a river.

BANYA.—Sanskrit, *vanij*: a merchant tribe of Hindus, originally of Guzerat, who have spread over India and neighbouring countries, where they continue to speak, and write, the Guzerati tongue, which may be pronounced the great mercantile language of foreign Indian Marts: a Hindū shop-keeper.

BATELO.—Portuguese, *batel*: a small boat; a miniature *buggalow*, q.v.

BAWARCHI.—Turkish: a cook.

BAZAR.—Persian: a street of shops; a market-place.

BEARER.—Eng.: a name probably adapted to the *Kahar* or palanquin-bearers, by early English adventurers, in remembrance of the sedan-chairs then common at home; a personal attendant; a valet.

BHISTI.—Persian, *bihishti*: belonging to Paradise; a water-carrier, commonly called Bheesty.

BUGGALOW.—Mahr., *bagalā*: a large coasting boat, sharp at one end and square at the other; a dow.

BUNGALOW.—Hind., *Bangālā*: of, or belonging to Bengal; a thatched cottage after the style used in Bengal.

CAÑA.—Spanish: liquor distilled from sugar-cane; rum.

CHABOOTRA.—Hind., *chabūtrā*: an elevated seat; terrace; custom-house.

CHAUKI.—Hind.: a guard; watch-house.

CHAUKI-DAR.—A watchman.

CHEETAH.—Hind., *chittā*: a leopard; especially one trained to hunting.

CHUKKAR.—Sanskrit, *chakr*: a discus; a missile weapon like a quoit used by the Sikhs.

COMPOUND.—Malay, *kampung*: probably from Port: *campo*; and Persian affix *dān*; *campodān*, an enclosed space; applied generally to the area round a Bungalow.

COOLIES.—Turkish, *kulī*: a slave; a labourer.

CORRAL.—Spanish: a cattle or sheep-pen of rough timber set on end, and bound together with raw hide.

DAK.—Hind.: *dāk*, post, transport by relays of men, or horses.

DECADAS.—Portuguese, Decades: The History of the Portuguese in Asia, by João de Barros, an eminent historian (1496-1570), and Diogo do Couto, historiographer of India to Philip II. and Philip III. of Spain.

DHARMSALA.—Hind., *dharm-sālā*: a building for charitable purposes; a rest-house.

DINGHIES.—Guzerati, *dhangī*: a sharp-bowed boat, with high poop.

DOKRA.—A small copper coin, the 52nd part of a Kashanee (Chalani) rupee.

DOLLAR.—The dollar mentioned in the text was equal to two Kashanee rupees, q.v.

DOONDEE.—Cargo boat of the Lower Indus; the bow a broad inclined plane at an angle of 20° and the stern of 40° with the surface of the water; a junk.

DURBAR.—Persian *darbār*: a court; a levee.

EKKA.—Hind. from *ek* one: a single horsed vehicle built of bamboo, and very light: the shafts are attached to the horse's girth and the axle.

EURASIAN.—Contraction of Eur(opean) and Asian: a child of one European and one Asiatic parent.

FAKIR.—Arabic. *fakīr*: poor; a devotee.

GARI.—Sanskrit: any sort of cart. coach, or carriage.

GARI-WALA.—A hackney coachman; a driver.

GAUCHO.—Spanish from Guarani: one who resides outside the pale; outlaw; inhabitant of the Pampas of South America.

HAMMAL.—Arabic, *hammāl*: a porter, but used in the sense of a bearer, q.v.

HINDI.—Persian adjective form of *Hind*. India: the dialects of Hindustani or Urdu which have been the least charged by the addition of Persian.

HINDUSTANI.—The language of the Mohammedans of India, into which many foreign words have been adopted.

IMAM.—Arabic: a leader; the Head of the Mussulman community. There has not been any generally acknowledged Imām since the taking of Baghdad by the Tartars.

JAGAH.—Hind.: a place; a station; *pir ki jagah*, a holy place; a tomb.

JALOUSIES.—French: slatted door or window blind.

JAMA.—Arabic: a congregation; a large concurrence; *masjid-i-jama'*, a large place of worship: a great mosque; a cathedral.

JAWAR.—Hind., *jawar*: *Sorghum vulgare*; tall millet, with stem 10 to 12 feet in height.

JHEERAH.—A kind of grain.

JOKEEAHS.—A wandering tribe of Sind; descended from the Rajputs; converts to Mahommedanism.

JUTT.—Mussulman Sindee peasant: a camel driver.

KAFILA.—Arabic *Kāfila*, a body of travellers; a caravan.

KALHORA.—A dynasty of Sind from A.D. 1658 to A.D. 1780, of Belochee descent.

KANDY.—Mahrati *Khandi*; a candy or weight, used in Western India, for measuring grain, equal to 8 maunds of 82 lbs. or say 656 lbs.

KAROR.—Hind. A crore, one hundred *lakhs* or ten millions.

KACHERI.—Hind *Kachahri*. Court-house.

KASHANEE.—Sanskrit *Chalāni*; name of a rupee calculated to contain 11 *mashas*, as compared with the Bombay rupee of 11¼ *mashas* q.v.

KHAKI.—Persian *Khāk*. Earth or dust; drab-coloured cotton cloth, much used for uniforms.

KHAN.—Persian. Hereditary title of a Tartar Chief, now commonly used in the sense of "Esquire."

KHANA.—Persian *Khāna*. A house; dwelling room.

KHARWAR.—Persian *Khar-war*. An ass load; a weight used in Sind for grain, but varying from 2,200 to 2,500 lbs.

KHWAJA.—Persian. A rich merchant; person of distinction.

KILA-DARSHIP.—Arabic *Kal'a*, a fort; the office of commandant of a fort.

KINKOBS.—Persian *Kimkhwāb*: gold brocade.

KORA.—The value of the Korah or Hydrabad (Sind) rupee was 25 per cent. less than that of the "Company's rupee."

KORAN.—Arabic *Kur,ān*: the sacred book of the Muhammedans, written in the Arabic language.

KULEEFA.—Arabic *Khalīfa*: the Caliph; a successor; a sovereign; particularly applied to the successors of the Prophet.

KURBEE.—Straw made of the stalks of *jawar* and *bājrī*, q.v.
KUTCHA.—Hind., *Kachchā:* raw, unripe, second-rate, bad.
LAKH.—Hind. *lakh*: one hundred thousand.
LASCAR.—Persian *lashkār-i*: belonging to an army; now applied to tent-pitchers and sailors.
LOHANA.—A powerful tribe resident in Sind since the earliest times, originally from Lohanpur, in Multan.
LOONGI.—Persian *lung*: a cloth worn round the loins with the end passed between the thighs and tucked in behind.
MADAPOLLAM.—A finer kind of white piecé goods between calico and muslin, which took its name from Madhava-palam, a place on the Godavery.
MADRASA.—Arabic. College; school for the diffusion of Muhammedan learning.
MUGAR.—Hind. *makar*. Alligator or crocodile of the Ganges, Indus and other rivers.
MAHADEV.—Sanskrit *mahādev*. A name of *Siva*, one of the principal Hindū deities.
MAHAR.—Persian: the guiding piece of wood put through the nose of a camel.
MAHONAS.—A fisherman race in Sind; they profess Muhammedanism, and adore the River Indus under the name of Kajah Khizr.
MAIDAN.—Persian: a plain; an open area outside a town or city.
MALAKRA.—A word that appears to have been recently introduced into Sind and the Punjab from Biluchistan, used to signify a "meeting for athletic sports," probably Sanskrit, *māljātrā* from *māl*, a wrestler, boxer; and *jātrā*, a fair, a procession.
MALI.—Hind., *mālī:* a gardener; a florist; a member of the caste of gardeners.
MASHA.—Sanskrit: a small weight, chiefly of gold or silver, equal to 14 grains troy.
MATH.—Sanskrit, *math*: Hindu college; temple; the abode of an ascetic.
MAUND.—Hind., *man*: name of a weight. The "Indian maund"; the standard in British India = 82⅔ lbs. avoirdupois, but the maund varies considerably, *e.g.*, the maund of cotton = 84 lbs.; of wool, 82 lbs.; of Hides, 28 lbs., &c.
MOFUSSIL.—Arabic, *mufassal*: distinct, full, ample; the *country* in opposition to *town*.
MOGHUL.—The name by which the Kings of Delhi were popularly styled by the Portuguese.
MOHIT.—Arabic, *muhit:* circumference; the ocean.
MOLLAH.—Arabic, *mullā:* a Muhammedan lawyer or schoolmaster; a learned man.
MOONSHEE.—Arabic, *munshi:* a writer; secretary; teacher of eastern languages.
MOR.—Sanskrit: a peacock.
MOSLEM.—Arabic, *muslim:* a believer; a Muhammedan.
Mosque.—A place of worship; corruption of *musjid*, q.v.
MUHAMMADAN.—Arabic, *muhammadi:* a follower of the Arabian prophet.
MUKHTYARKAR.—Arabic, *mukhtarkār:* a commissioner; a magistrate; chief native Revenue and Judicial officer in a Taluka.
MURGHI.—Persian, *murgh:* fowl, bird, cock; particularly domestic fowl.
MUSJID.—Arabic, a mosque: place of worship; *musjid-i-jami*; a cathedral.
NULLAH.—Hind., *nālā:* a watercourse.
NUWAB.—From Arabic, *nā, ib:* a substitute; lieutenant; vice-regent; *Nuwwab* is the plural, and general form of addressing a superior.
PAKHAL.—Hind.: a large bag made of an ox-hide, holding about 20 galls. of water; two of which are carried on a bullock.
PALKI.—Sanskrit: a litter carried by bearers; a *sedan* adapted for lying at full length.
PANI.—Hind., *pānī*: water.
PANKHA.—Hind.: a large swinging fan, made of cloth stretched on a frame.
PATHAN.—Hind., *pathān*: an Afghan; a person of Afghan descent.
PATTAMAR.—Malay: a lateen-rigged vessel; a dispatch boat.
PEON.—Portuguese, *peão*: originally a foot-soldier; a day labourer.
PICE.—Hind., *paisā*: a copper coin of the value of one fourth of an anna.
PIE.—Hind., pa'i: a copper coin of which twelve make an anna.

.—Persian: an old man; a Mohammedan saint; a spiritual guide.
'KA.—Hind.: *pakhā*: ripe, cooked, substantial, good.
.TAN.—English: corruption of *battalion*; a regiment.
RANIC.—Relating to the *purānas* or traditional stories in praise of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva.
O.—A prince; Hindu title of honour.
IDENT.—English: representative of the Governor General at an important Native Court.
ALA.—Arabic: a troop of horse; squadron of cavalry.
EE.—Sanskrit, *rūpya*: wrought silver; the "Company's Rupee" weighed 180 grains, of which 165 were pure silver. See also Kashanee and Kora.
AR.—Arabic, *sadr*: chief.
S.—Arabic: a groom; a horsekeeper.
AMI.—Arabic, *sālamī*: a salute; present given on receiving an office; a bribe.
SKRIT.—The name of the classical language of the Brahmans.
AE.—Persian, *sarāī*: an edifice; a palace; a building for the accommodation of travellers.
EES.—Hind., *sari*: the cloth which women in Sind and N. India wrap round the body and then bring over the head.
R.—Hind., *ser*: a measure of weight and capacity, about 2 lbs. avoirdupois, or 61 cubic inches.
DY.—Persian, *sipāhī*: a horse soldier; rank and file of the Indian army.
H.—Hind.: a wealthy merchant; banker.
GRAM.—Sanskrit, *sīghram*, quickly: a carriage resembling a narrow, but elongated four-wheel cab.
KAR.—Persian, *shikār*: sport, game. *Shikārgār*: *a preserve; a hunting ground.*
TUR.—Persian, *shutr*: a dromedary; a swift camel.
DEES.—From Arabic, *saiyid* (see *syud*): the general name for negroes.
.—The third person of the Hindu Triad; The Destroyer? The Bright or Happy One.
TOPI.—A sun helmet; hat made of pith; from Hind., *shola*.
AR.—Persian, *sūbadār*: a governor; the chief native officer of a company of poys: equivalent to a captain.
—Arabic, *saiyid*: a lord; a prince; a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima.
A'O.—Sanskrit: a lake; reservoir of water.
PUR.—A Tribe and Dynasty of Sind.
UKA.—Arabic *ta'lluk*: Subdivision of a District.
DO.—Hind., *tattū*: a pony; small native horse.
TI.—Hind., *tātī*: a screen or mat made of coarse grass.
EEA.—Arabic *ta'ziya*, mourning for the dead; rough model of the tomb of Hussun at Karbala in Irak.
K.—Sanskrit: the mark which Hindus make on the forehead with coloured earth.
EE.—Hind., *topī*: a hat; *topiwālā*, wearer of a hat.
WAR.—Sanskrit, *tarwār*: a sword, a scimitar.
T-TUM.—A dog, or village cart.
ASHA.— Arabic *tamashi*, a show spectacle—popular excitement.
GA.—Mahrati *tānk*, a coin equal to two *dokras*, q.v.
INU.—The second person of the Hindu Triad—The Preserver.
A.—Hind., *wāl* or *wālā* a particle which in composition signifies keeper, man, master, &c., e.g., *ghar-wālā*, master of a house, *naw-wālā*, a boatman, etc.
ER.—A horse imported from New South Wales, or any part of Australia.
AYAT.—Arabic: an inhabited country; a country foreign to India, such as Persia, Arabia, Great Britain—*wilayati-pānī*, soda-water.
UCK.—Arabic *zaurak*, a small ship: the cargo boat of the Upper Indus, the planks being held together by clamps, instead of nails.

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on 06 November, 2019